

The Commons

NOVEMBER, 1904

GRAHAM TAYLOR, Editor

Edwin Balmer
Graham Romeyn Taylor } Assistant Editors

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The Commons

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Ninth Year

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With The Editor

The Impending Vote of Protest

Never in American politics have there been such premonitory evidences of a heavy vote across old party lines. It is being prepared in silence to be silently cast. It has been a remarkably still campaign. No "whirlwind" tours have heralded it. Neither mass meetings, nor oratory, rally or measure it. However effective or ineffective campaign policies may have been, the bulk of the socialist vote at least will be cast by men who do not belong to any socialist organization, who have not attended socialist meetings, who have read little or no socialist literature, and who have said little or nothing about how they were going to vote. For it will be a vote of protest that will be registered by these silent voters of the populist or socialist tickets. In Colorado it will include both the democratic and socialist votes at issue with lawless measures to suppress lawlessness. Whatever the result, the strength of the protest will be registered only in the combined strength of both these tickets, which being antagonistic to each other may so divide the vote as to give the election to the party in power. But not a few votes will be cast for that party protestingly, under the constraint of voting for legalized authority against what seems to some to be mob rule.

Although nowhere else is there such a completely divisive issue, yet everywhere a vote of protest will bank up at various points of industrial antagonism. In democratic strongholds it will protest against the overthrow of the more radical Bryan majority among the working class voters, who will divide between the socialist and populist candidates. "Frenzied Finance," in its recently disclosed bearings upon party management, will register in the republican columns not a few votes of protesting middle class democrats. But the influence of such revelations as Mr. Lawson has scattered broadcast through *Everybody's Magazine*, and Miss Ida Tarbell and Lincoln Steffens have even more influentially disseminated through *McClure's*, and the United States Supreme Court has recorded in its decision in the Northern Securities' case,—these and innumerable other evidences of the attempted capture of government by conspiracies of certain capitalists are shaking many voters of all classes loose from their former party affiliations and arraying more and more of the wage earners, among them in the party, which goes to the opposite extreme in fighting for the capture of industry by government.

Very many of the new recruits to be claimed by these parties of protest have

by no means donned the party badge yet. They simply mean, as many of them have said to the writer, to "plump a socialist vote this time anyway." But it will not be hard to ally them to the party which seems to them to be their only port of entry when all others seem closed against them.

It will take only a little more lining up of "Citizen's Alliances" and Employer's Associations of the Parry type with some more local politicians, to stampede the majorities of trade unionists, now strongly conservative, to the more uncompromising radicalism of the political socialists. The manifesto of the Colorado Law Enforcement League urging that Governor Peabody's administration be ratified at the polls in November because it has "established precedents" which will be useful to employing classes elsewhere as in Colorado, has only to be accepted and acted upon at a few other points to precipitate such a struggle for the control of our state legislatures and administrations as few of the employing class seem even yet to have imagined to be possible.

The "discontented totals" are bound to be far larger than ever in the returns of the impending election, but whether they will mark the end or the beginning of political class conflict, it is still within the power of the conservative yet American majority to decide.

Base Line and Sky Line

Industry and religion are the two greatest factors in the problem of human life. Industry is the base line, the rootage, the very condition of existence. Religion is the sky-line, the atmosphere, the horizon, which makes life more than meat and the body than raiment. Be-

tween industry and religion stands the Church, never more needed by both than now, to mediate between the industry which provides our living and the religion which is our very life. None the less is it needed to give religion its earthly foothold, put soul back into our work for daily bread, and make our way of earning a living the way of life.

That we may realize this new ministry of interpretation and mediation to which the churches are called of God alike by the spiritual impoverishment of the work-a-day life, and the all too little influence which the churchly forms of religion have upon the working world, we should see the need which industry has for what religion is and does, and the power over life which religion may find in industry. In being the medium of this exchange of values may not the church find the rejuvenation of its vital power, the re-kindling of its altar fires?

Justice Persistently Demanded of the Church

Christianity is inextricably identified with these human factors of the industrial problem. The destiny of the church is inevitably involved in the irresistible tendencies toward industrial democracy. Not for the first time is the power of christianity being tested* by its ability to solve the problems it has raised. The Christian evangel has all along been the ideal overhead and the dynamic within the heart which have inspired a divine discontent. Every now and then the Gospel strikes the earth under the feet of the common man and he rises up and demands to be counted as one. Old John Wycliffe voiced his categorical imperative "Father he bade us all him call, masters we have none." Many another labor movement has inscribed no more or less upon

its banners than the Swabian peasants had upon theirs, a serf, kneeling at the cross with the legend, "Nothing but God's justice." The progress of the democracy has often halted in passing the church and listened at its oracles to hear whether it could express christian principles in terms of industrial relationship, whether it would let the worker be the man its free gospel and its free school have taught him to know himself to be.

Protestant Christianity has from its very birth been persistently faced with the demand for the economic justice and industrial peace promised by the prophets and proclaimed by the Christ. In culminating in the correction of theological errors and ecclesiastical abuses the Reformation of the 16th century must be admitted to have fallen short, however excusably, of the great moral and social results which would have been its legitimate consummation if its splendid beginnings could have been carried on and out. For it was made possible more perhaps than by anything else by the social discontent of the oppressed peasantry. Luther's protest found its most fertile soil in the oppressive industrial conditions under which people had been robbed and beaten to the point of revolt. The economic side of the great reformation is yet to be written. So far it has received due emphasis only in the radical literature of avowedly writers inimical to christianity.

At the rise of the evangelical movement in the 18th century the Wesley's had no sooner raised that standard of reality in religion than they found themselves face to face with this same imperative industrial problem. The Methodist chapels and class meeting trained both the leaders and the mass of

the working people for their trade union movement, which was one of the incidental and most far reaching results of the revival in England. The rise of the great middle classes to their activity in social reforms is due to this same Evangel which brought the sunrise of a new day out of the leaden skies of 18th century England. Further, the rise of the factory system suddenly put to the test of its supreme crisis the christianity of the 19th century, but it was the evangel of the Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury, of Frederick Denison Maurice and of Charles Kingsley, which more than the Duke of Wellington's battalions, saved England from the revolution threatened by the Chartist movement to the evolution of her sane and sure municipal and social progress.

The idealism of religion hovers like the ghost of the working world's discontented spirit, theoretically near yet tauntingly out of reach. Can the church apply its ideal of religion to work-a-day life? If not, will not both the religious and working world have to find some form of churchly ministration that can really apply the ideal to the common life?

Church Overtures and Labor's Response

The appointment of standing committees on labor by several of the national ecclesiastical bodies is a significant sign of the times. It is an official recognition of the Church's consciousness of, concern for, and relation to the critical industrial situation. It comes none too early for the sake of the churches, to say nothing of the situation.

Abroad, the awakening within the

church to its industrial duty and opportunity, although it long preceded the stir of conscience here at home, was all too late to stem the tide of the working people's thought, feeling and action which has so long been away from all churchly affiliation and influence. Neither the conservative court preacher, Stocker, nor the radical Social Democrat, Dr. Nauman, have very perceptibly stayed the flow of that tide in Germany toward political socialism. The Roman Catholic hierarchy presented a more formidable front, yet its direct antagonism and its church labor unions retarded but little the national movement of the German working people. In England, despite the "Social Union" of the Established Church, and the many political and civic affiliations of the Free Churches with the trades unionists, "the bulk of the regular wage earning class," is reported by Charles Booth and Mr. Mudie-Smith, in their careful analyses of the population of London, to stand "untouched, apart from all forms of religion," and "while atheism is rare secularism not powerful, and disbelief is small, the sense of detachment is great."

In this country, although the chasm between organized labor and organized religion is not nearly so deep or wide, yet like every other tendency in American public life the breach may develop far more rapidly. These overtures of the churches are, therefore, somewhat in advance of a ruder awakening which might have awaited them had they been delayed much longer. The Protestant Episcopal Church led the way several years ago with its Christian Social Union. By the effective publications and public meetings of this organization some of its clergy and laity have been more or less leavened with broader

and more tolerant views. Its "Church Association for the advancement of the Interests of Labor," including both employers and employes, is capable of such effective utterance as we publish in another column. But its conciliatory influence upon the industrial classes has been exerted far more by the mediating personalities of a very few bishops and priests whose just and fearless attitude at critical times has done more than anything else to win for it public confidence and favor. The Presbyterian board of Home Missions has taken the most official action yet ventured in appointing Rev. Charles Stelzle, formerly a machinist, and still carrying the membership card of the Machinist's Union, to represent it throughout the country in the interests of workingmen. His statement in our next number of what he is attempting will be awaited with interest. Lately there has been a significant influence exerted by Roman Catholic authorities in some dioceses which is sending the working men of that faith more largely than ever into the trades union membership.

The latest and perhaps most significant church action relative to the labor situation has just been taken at the National Council of the Congregational Churches in triennial session at Des Moines, Iowa. A whole evening was devoted to the program of the labor committee which rallied great audiences in the two largest churches of the city.

The report of the Committee on Labor, which follows, was supported in able papers by members of the Council, and Mr. E. E. Clark, of the Railway Conductors' Union, who served on the Anthracite Coal Miner's Strike Committee, read the very effective plea

which we are privileged to present on another page. We prefer to let the report speak for itself, demurring only to the inconsistency between its statements that "the industrial difficulty lies more in the moral than in the economic order" and "that no amount of religious activity or of practical religious helpfulness can solve it." For if "nothing short of justice can reach the case," as is still further asserted, then the moral order can be effective only in correcting the fundamental faults inherent in the present economic system.

Unexpected response was given to all these overtures from this great church by the local Trades and Labor Assembly. Not only did it delegate representatives to attend the sessions of the Council, who took creditable part in the discussions of the report, but it took still more spontaneous and significant action. The writer was requested to address a mass meeting of employers and employees under the auspices of the Trades and Labor Assembly, which widely advertised the occasion throughout the city and crowded the seating ca-

pacity and standing room of its large hall all Sunday afternoon. Many distinguished members of the council, including influential employers, mingled with the great throng of working people. The address upon "The human interests at stake in industry" immediately elicited the attack of the socialists, especially upon the contention that the public is the great third party to every labor interest and dispute, whose rights are bound to be respected. Then the trades unionists repudiated the extremes to which the socialists had gone. Members of the Council and of the Trades Assembly vied with each other in cordial recognition of the service which organized labor and organized religion could render each other and the cause of human progress. Each seemed almost gleefully surprised at how well disposed the other was toward it. The occasion, both by its spontaneity and fraternal interchange of good fellowship, produced a profound impression upon the widely representative council, and was publicly declared to mark an epoch in the history of its entire development.

Report of the Labor Committee, National Congregational Council

The existence of the Labor Committee of the National Council is one of many similar proofs given by various Christian denominations in America of a growing social responsibility among the Churches, for within the last three years several denominations have appointed committees on the Industrial situation, or have taken other action in regard to it.

The Chairman of your Labor Committee had the honor of suggesting to the committee on Labor Organization of the Massachusetts General Association that a Labor Committee ought to be appointed by the National Council, and he was authorized to present this suggestion to the Business Committee of the last National Council then in session at Portland, Me. By that body it was heartily adopted, and a committee was nominated.

Your committee has held several meetings, and has carried on quite a large correspondence in the fulfillment of its works of which it now gives account and presents also a brief statement of its duties as it sees them, together with a brief resume of industrial

conditions. A few recommendations and several bibliographies of the labor question, one from Mr. John Mitchell, another from Hon. Carroll D. Wright, and others from the more than twenty specialists on modern industrialism whose help we asked, are added in conclusion. It may be interesting to you to know, that a representative of your committee has attended conventions of the American Federation of Labor, and of the Civic Federation; that we have corresponded with representative Labor officials; and that two members of our committee have been sent by journals to study industrial strife on the field, and to report the same in print, one in Colorado, and one in Fall River, Mass.

THE FUNCTION OF A CHURCH LABOR COMMITTEE.

Because the Labor problem has many phases economic, social, moral, many agencies have arisen to help in its solution. The General Government has its Department of Labor and Commerce, and from time to time

appoints special industrial commissions. Several states have Bureaus of Labor Statistics, and Boards of Conciliation and Arbitration, and nearly all of the states doubtless, have legislative committees on labor to which proposed legislation is at first referred. Groups of interested citizens, such as make up the efficient Industrial Department of the National Civic Federation have formed among the people, and are largely helping to better the relationships of the world of industry. Legislative action has resulted in a body of statutory and common law, which has been highly serviceable in promoting the industrial uplift. With these agencies should be included the organizations of employees and of employers. It is therefore evident that the existence of these other forms of social effort and the nature and purpose of the church limit its activities primarily to the social and moral phases of the labor question. In view, however, of the prevalent relations of organized Christianity and organized labor, the churches' first service should be with itself—to get information on the subject and to stimulate interest therein.

THE METHOD EMPLOYED.

Naturally what your committee has done, has been dictated largely by its conception of its place and duties. About one and one-half years ago, therefore, we sent a letter to each of our state associations, in which we asked for the appointment of a Labor Committee that should be auxilliary to the Labor Committee of the National Council, to help toward a better knowledge of industrial conditions, and of the spirit of the churches, especially in its own locality: to come into sympathetic relations as far as possible with labor organized and unorganized: to help just and wise movements among workingmen, which mean physical, social and moral betterment: to seek affiliation with humanitarian and religious bodies having similar ends in view, and to keep the Labor Committee of the National Council informed as to the conditions found and the efforts made to promote the well-being of the industrial part of the community.

Some other religious bodies have committees that have worked upon lines different from ours, e.g., by seeking, (as in one instance) to approach the wage worker at first by the agency of some form of religious service chiefly of the evangelistic type, and, as in another instance, by endeavoring to promote the interests of workingmen through the formation of a society within a particular denomination.

We believe it better because more in harmony with the democratic polity of our churches, and because it encourages some interest from the many rather than the special interest of the few, that we should try to produce a larger and deeper interest among our people in this phase of the social question through committees of the state associations that should be thoroughly re-

presentative of all our churches. The results already gained have justified our theory, for we have been notified that many of our state organizations have adopted our suggestions.

Doubtless committees have been appointed and some work done in other states besides those from which we have officially heard. We make grateful mention of the proffered assistance and genuine help of the committees of several states, especially those of Massachusetts, Illinois and Colorado, three commonwealths in which the student of social conditions will find at present much to interest him.

As far as possible, your committee has done what it asked the state committees to do, and we report that we have found the officers of humanitarian and industrial bodies quite as responsive to our requests for information and help as were the committees of some of the Christian denominations.

THE INDUSTRIAL SITUATION.

The economic features of the present industrial situation are so widely published in books and periodicals, that the people are generally familiar with them. For this reason, and because in general these economic features do not come within the scope of this report, we omit any special mention of them. We have a labor problem because we have large freedom, education, democracy, in which aggressive and acquisitive human beings are struggling for personal and social expression and betterment. The deep tendencies and the surface conditions of modern industry result in that consolidation of the forces of the employed, and the forces of the employer, that express themselves in the former instance in unionism and in the latter, in the various types of employers' associations. Apparently unionism is something more than that valuable phase of present day industry, collective bargaining, for unionism stands for the introduction of democracy into industry, the right of representation in the conduct of business. More fundamental than any other practical question, such as the closed shop or freedom of contract is this underlying demand of representation in the conduct of industrial enterprises. To achieve it, is the core of intelligent unionism which seems fast passing into industrialism, and to resist it is the purpose of much of the counter organization of employers. The result appears on the surface in suspicion, resistance, lawlessness, violence—the common hard features of much of the present industrial struggle. It is not our part to discuss this phase of the question. We simply state it, as a primary and inevitable element in the present contest. We believe that organization of labor and organizations of capital are inevitable, and that these forces are to be dealt with intelligently and humanely, and that any policy that means the utter subversion of one force to that of the other is certain to result immediately in intensifying the

already ominous tendency to class division and class warfare. Constructive policies under the forms of law and tempered by the justly critical force of public opinion, are being framed by conservative leaders on both sides, and for these results we can hopefully wait.

We urge upon trades unionists and upon employers in the meantime the right use of power, and the cultivation of such a sense of responsibility as will conserve social well-being for the present and the future. The spirit of the marauder by whomever shown should be checked, and industrial organizations both of employees and employers, should become as they may become, strong forces in behalf of law and order.

The Christian church is certainly one of the most powerful agencies in the promotion of human well-being. It has, therefore, a high social duty to fulfill in emphasizing goodwill, justice and brotherhood: in teaching restraint and patience; in embodying the religious spirit in democratic forms; and in holding up the highest personal and social ideals of life. Our churches and ministers should remember that the value of organized Christianity in the present industrial struggle is not dependent upon partisanship but rather upon the spirit in which it stands for righteous principles and for that moral insight that requires every man and every group of men to treat each and all, not as "ways of behaviour" but as personalities having similar duties and privileges one with another.

We have been sharply criticized by a very few for saying that there is widespread indifference on the part of workingmen and the church each to the other, and that occasionally the attitude towards the church on the part of workingmen is one of alienation or hostility. We do not refer to this criticism for the purpose of rejoinder, but merely to re-affirm our position. It has been confirmed by our correspondence and conference with labor leaders, as it is sustained by the experience of social workers generally. If by "workingman" is meant anyone who works in any way, it is easy to show that the churches are made up quite exclusively of laborers, but if, as in our use of the term, manual wage-earners are meant, e. g., mechanics, mill and shop operatives and unskilled laborers, their number especially in Protestant churches is small, and relatively to other social elements is growing smaller. We believe that the industrial difficulty lies more in the moral than in the economic order, hence our emphasis upon moral forces and aims and our belief that the church should lead in producing a new spirit in industrial relationships. In the past, some of the most intelligent friends of workingmen have been found in the ranks of the Christian church, its laymen and clergymen, and notwithstanding all assertions and beliefs to the contrary, the same is true today. Kingsley, Maurice, and Toynbee, of

a past generation in England, and several in America among the living whose names will readily recur to you are rightly regarded as the friends of the workers.

RECOMMENDATIONS.

Recognizing that the need and the right to work are fundamental in human society, and that much remains to be done to establish just relationships in the industrial order, we urge our churches to take a deeper interest in the labor question, and to get a more intelligent understanding of the aims of organized labor. This can be done through fraternal personal contact with the workers, and by reading the best publications of those who have a right to speak on industrial subjects. As helps by this latter method, your committee has secured from several sources labor bibliographies, which cannot fail to be highly suggestive to everyone who wishes to get theoretic information on this subject. These bibliographies we hope to have published in the Minutes of this Council, as an addendum to this report. Our thanks are hereby extended to the American Institute of Social Service, and to those gentlemen who have put their suggestions at our disposal, for their help.

We recommend further, that the National Council continue the appointment of a Labor Committee.

That this Council through its Secretary ask each state body in our fellowship to appoint a Labor Committee which shall be auxiliary to the National Council's Labor Committee for the purpose of information and suggestion through correspondence and conference, as well as for such service locally as may be rendered.

That the Council instruct its Labor Committee to seek affiliation with kindred committees of other denominations, and with non-ecclesiastical bodies that work for industrial betterment.

That the Labor Committee try to get such expression from workingmen's and employers' organizations and leaders, as shall, in its judgment, best promote social welfare.

Finally, your committee has a two-fold conviction out of which issues an inference vital to the spiritual problem of our churches:

First, That this question has come to stay; that it cannot be blinked or waved aside; that no amount of religious activity or of practical religious helpfulness can solve it; that nothing short of justice—justice by and justice to capital and labor alike—can reach the case. But, on the other hand, and—

Second, That only by the principles of the Gospel—its ethics, its love, its law of respect for every human soul as a Son of God, and a brother of Jesus Christ, and its foundation stone of sacrifice—can the ends properly sought by all true employers and workers be attained.

In these circumstances, since hearts must

be reached and the inmost man changed in order to supply any adequate motive for all this, one crowning inference follows, namely, that the present industrial-economic crisis constitutes a supreme motive for that fundamental Revival of Religion in all our church-

es for which the hearts of our people are looking, and longing, and praying.

Signed, David N. Beach, Washington Gladden, William J. Tucker, William A. Knight, Sec.

Frank W. Merrick, *Chairman*.

Report of the Episcopal Labor Committee

The unionist who has no toleration for the faults of the capitalist, the capitalist who condones no shortcoming of the unionist and the churchman who withholds absolution for industrial sin from both employer and employee, will read with interest and with advantage the report recently presented to the Episcopal Church by its able labor committee headed by Bishop Potter.

"We are agreed," the report says, "in the conviction that the cases of the violence of the past three years in Pennsylvania, in Colorado and in Illinois are not so much economical as moral. The strike commonly begins in distrust. The reason at the heart of it is that the master has as little confidence in the good will of the men as the men have in the good faith of the master. Where distrust and antagonism are well founded there is nothing for it so far as the church is concerned, except conversion. They who are at fault are to be admonished, on the one side, against prejudice and passion, and on the other side against covetousness and the sins which proceed from the inordinate love of riches. The capitalist and the laborer are alike sons of the church. There is as much loyalty to the church and to the divine head of the church in the one class as in the other. The church helps to remove the moral causes of industrial strife when she brings these different members of her family into better acquaintance.

"We perceive among our clergy and laity alike much ignorance (frankly confessed and deplored) as to the principles which are involved in the conflicts of the industrial world. Every industrial dispute involves three parties—the employer, the employed and the public; and the public eventually casts the deciding vote. Thus a serious social responsibility rests upon every Christian citizen and, more especially, upon the Christian minister. We call attention to the analogy between certain officers of the union and like officers, past or present, of both the capitalist and the churchman. Thus the employers' blacklist corresponds to the union's boycott, and both are akin to the major excommunication. The lockout and the strike are of the same nature. The question of the closed shop is like the question of the

closed state. Men whose Puritan ancestors strove to maintain a state whose privileges should belong only to members of the church, ought to be able to understand the struggle of their brethren to maintain a shop in which no man shall serve except a member of the union.

"They may not agree with these brethren but they ought to appreciate their self sacrifice. The laborer has learned from the capitalist to despise order and break law. He has learned from the churchman to pursue the dissenter with menace and violence. The recent tragedies in Colorado do not follow at a far distance the massacres which in the sixteenth century ensued upon the withdrawal of Holland from the ecclesiastical union.

"While, then, we condemn the tyranny and turbulence of the labor union and call upon the law to preserve the liberty of every citizen to employ whom he will and to work for whom he will, we deprecate the hasty temper, which, in condemning the errors of the unions, condemns at the same time the whole movement with which they are connected. The offenses of the union are as distinct from the cause for which the organization of labor stands, as the inquisition is distinct from the gospel.

"In the face of a prejudice and an hostility for which there are serious reasons, we are convinced that the organization of labor is essential to the well-being of the working people. Its purpose is to maintain such a standard of wages, hours, and conditions as shall afford every man an opportunity to grow in mind and in heart. Without organization the standard cannot be maintained in the midst of our present commercial conditions.

"This report is designedly general in its terms, but there is one matter which we are constrained to commend in particular to the consciences of Christian people. The employment of children in factories and mills depresses wages, destroys homes and depreciates the human stock. Whatever interferes with the proper nurture and education of a child contradicts the best interests of the nation. We call, then, on Christian employers and on Christian parents to endeavor after such betterment of the local and general laws as shall make the labor of children impossible in this Christian country."

The report is signed by Henry C. Potter, William Lawrence, Charles P. Anderson, R. H. McKim, George M. Hodges, C. D. Williams, Samuel Mather and Jacob Riis.

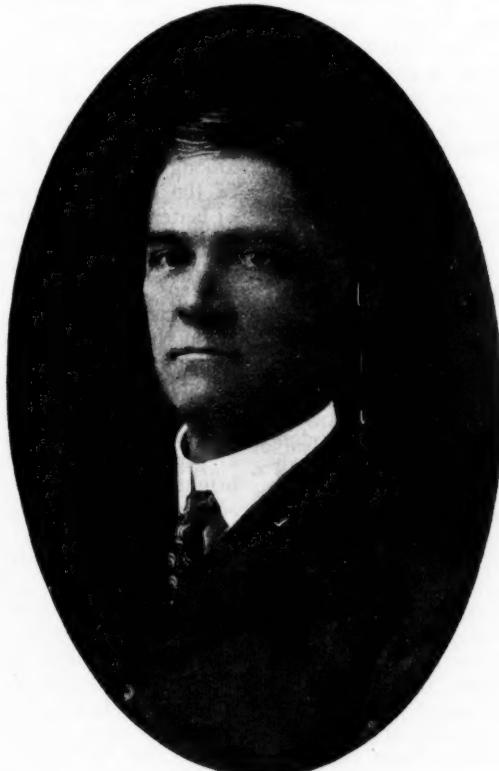
Ethics of Christianity Reflected in the Labor Movement

By E. E. Clark

Grand Chief Conductor, Order of Railway Conductors, and one of the men appointed by President Roosevelt to form the Anthracite Coal Strike Commission

Christianity is a science far reaching enough to extend to the uttermost parts of the earth and broad enough in its principles to afford room in its plan of salvation for all mankind. The

But, broad, comprehensive, exhaustive and far reaching as the science and ethics of Christianity are, the whole may be concisely and correctly summed up in the statement that the purpose is



E. E. CLARK

ethics of Christianity are so comprehensive as to apply themselves to every phase and every incident of human life. They involve so many branches of thought as to make it impossible ever to exhaust the profitable discussion of them.

to lead mankind to better and happier lives here and hereafter, through development of the higher instincts and the better sides of human nature.

The labor movement is not a campaign against law and order, led on by agitators and enemies of peace, as

some would represent it to be. On the contrary, it is the tangible evidence of the desire for better things on part of the masses who, in accord with divine edict, bring the sweat of labor to their brows in order that they may eat bread. It is the overflow or safety valve for the ever present, irresistible longing for greater liberties and better conditions of life. It is reflective of the same spirit which led the children of Israel to refuse to make bricks without straw, which buoyed them up in their pilgrimage in search of the promised land, which brought the Pilgrim Fathers to the newly found West, which has performed so important a part in the development of the new world, which is behind the march of civilization, and without which progress would be impossible.

CHRISTIANITY AND LABOR ADVANCING TOGETHER.

Like all great movements or reforms it has had its authors, its disciples, its apostles, its missionaries and its martyrs. Its aim is to make mankind better, more comfortable and happier here, and this of necessity, leads them nearer to a probable happy hereafter. The work of the church will not be done until the millennium shall have dawned; and until that day, the labor movement will be found pressing on side by side or hand in hand with it. People talk glibly about solving the labor problem. The cause of Christianity will not have completely triumphed so long as there are sinners outside of the fold, and the labor problem will not be solved so long as hope of better things springs up in the hearts and minds of men. We shall steadily approach the goals which we seek. Some day they will be reached.

For the purpose of this discussion we can only give brief consideration to a few of the ethics of Christianity which are involved in, or, I prefer to say, which are reflected in, the labor movement. And so I shall call attention to some few of the many incidents in the life and teachings of the man Christ which seem to apply most aptly

and opportunely to the practical life of man in this twentieth century.

Before going further, and to avoid possible misapprehension or misunderstanding, it is proper for me to say — which I suppose I should be ashamed to admit — that I am not a member of any church and that I do not profess to be a Christian. I, however, believe in Christianity. I hope that while neglecting many of its teachings — all of which are good and none of which ever brought harm to any man — I consistently follow others of them, more especially those to which I shall particularly refer.

Christ came to earth as the messenger of God to all mankind. He did not go into the temple and from there proclaim his mission but he went about among the poor and lowly, the masses of the people, teaching and preaching of better things for them. He announced one of the eternal ethics of Christianity when he bade them bear one another's burdens. And that is one of the ethics of Christianity which is deeply involved in the labor movement. The labor movement as we know it in this age is, a combined effort on part of the many to rid each other of some of the burdens which are borne in their individual capacities, and to make life better, brighter, happier for all. It seeks to secure for the industrious man compensation for his services, and hours of labor, which will afford comfort for himself and family and opportunity to develop and cultivate a taste for a higher life physically, morally and spiritually. If Christianity means anything it means that all men are God's children, and, whether it be right or wrong to view it in that light, it is certain that the word and promises of God preached to a hungry man or to the man whose days know nothing but a ceaseless grind of labor for a bare existence and whose nights know nothing but the sleep of physical exhaustion will fall in barren soil.

BOTH MAKING FOR HIGHER CIVILIZATION.

Christianity makes steadily for a

higher civilization and if I were asked to point out one, and only one, evidence of the fact that the labor movement of this day involves many of the ethics of Christianity I would without hesitation call attention to the fact that the labor movement is strongest and thrives best in those countries where Christianity is most strongly entrenched and most generally accepted. There is no labor movement in idolatrous India. Neither Christianity nor its practical ethics give the masses there hope for better and higher things and so, instead of hustling and striving as does the trade unionist in Christianized America, that native quietly and tamely succumbs to starvation, saying, "It is fate."

God saw to it that the widow's bin of meal and cruse of oil did not become empty. Christ said "Suffer little children to come unto me." The two principles thus laid down have been embraced and faithfully followed by the leading organizations in the labor movement. By the establishment of out of work funds, fraternal insurance, and widows' and orphans' funds, to which the individual members contribute liberally from their hard earned means, the widows and orphans are kept in meal and oil.

By earnest and energetic efforts the labor unions have, to a large degree, checked the coining of infant health, life and limb into money for the coffers of those whose conception of business is the employment of children of tender years for long hours at arduous labor, and for the merest pittance, thus mortgaging beyond the possibility of redemption the health, morals and welfare of generations yet unborn.

The Anthracite Coal Strike Commission, in its investigation of conditions in the anthracite region, found that within a few years numbers of silk mills had been located in that region with no apparent inducement for such location except the opportunity there found for the employment of little girls. It was shown that hundreds of such little ones of tender years were working from six o'clock in the morn-

ing until six o'clock at night, or from six o'clock at night until six o'clock in the morning, and for wages as low as three cents per hour.

It was argued on one side that these were the children of workingmen and if their parents did not permit it the conditions could not exist. This was answered by the assertion that the conditions under which the parents worked were such as to compel every member of the family to contribute every cent that could be earned no matter what the cost might be in health or morals. The miners argued for higher wages and better conditions for themselves so that the young children would not be required to assist in earning the necessities of life, and so that the few inhuman parents who perhaps would drive their offsprings to such labor would not have the excuse of spurring necessity.

THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIOLOGICAL WAGE.

I desire to here digress far enough to call attention to the fact that a fair inquiry into the sociological conditions among any class or group of workers must take into consideration both the economic wage and the sociological wage. It may be said that in a certain employment three dollars per day is a good wage, and so far as it goes, the statement may be true. But if the employed must be ready for service at all times and is thus prevented from devoting part of his time and attention to other employment, and is not given employment for more than half the days in the year, the results at the end of the year are no better, even if as good, than if he had been steadily employed at a dollar and a half a day. That is, the sum of his earnings available for support of his family and which constitutes his sociological wage is equivalent to a year's work at one-half the economic wage actually paid.

What would your Sunday Schools amount to, or what would they accomplish if all the children were required to work at steady, exacting employment for twelve hours out of every

twenty-four through the week? Would there be much opportunity to hope that the little children would come to Christ as he bade them do?

Much has been accomplished in this work but it is far from being finished. Let me repeat that wherever an effort has been made to restrict child labor it has had more loyal and earnest support from the labor unions than from others, while most such movements have been originated by the unions. This is a work in which the church can well give its active and energetic assistance.

Christ chose disciples and bade them go into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature. What was the gospel which he directed them to preach? Was it an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth? Was it a gospel of fear, illustrated with vivid word pictures of the imaginary heat and torture in store for all those who did not accept it? Was it composed of theological discussions? No. It was the simple gospel of love. Love of the Father for the Son. Love of the Son for mankind and the beautiful commandment that ye, we, love one another.

THE INDUSTRIAL CRISIS AND THE GREAT COMMANDMENT.

What commandment could more aptly fit the present condition of industry and society? Deceit, desertion of trust, scandal and crime are rife and are found in high places as well as in lowly places. The man who, holding a position of trust, either public or private, takes advantage of the opportunity to rob those who have placed confidence in him has no love for his neighbors or for society. If the love for one another of which the Savior spoke had been entertained by the leading spirits on either side of the recent regrettable conflicts in portions of the State of Colorado, our page of civilization would not have borne the ineffaceable blot which has been put upon it by a seeming effort to make a right out of two wrongs. If we demand respect

for law and for the right from others we must in all consistency be willing to respect the law and the right ourselves. Wrong is wrong and defiance of law is defiance of law whether perpetrated by those in authority or by others. If we expect consideration from others we must give consideration. If we claim rights we must recognize and shoulder responsibilities. If we demand privileges we must assume obligations. If we want to be loved we must love.

LABOR HAS ITS PETERS AND JUDASES.

The labor movement has its disciples going about among the people encouraging them to higher purposes and ideals, teaching the precepts of organizations whose principles are enunciated in their mottoes, "Fidelity, Justice and Charity," "Benevolence, Sobriety and Industry," "Brotherly Love," etc. Ah! I hear some one say that some of these disciples of labor preach discontent and strife and do more harm than good. Perhaps that is true. I am sorry to be obliged to admit it. But it must be remembered that nineteen centuries ago the Savior of mankind selected twelve men whom he thought he could tie to, and among the twelve he later found Peter, who denied him, and Judas, who betrayed him. I presume the percentage of deceit, disloyalty, moral cowardice and treachery holds good in this twentieth century. The labor movement can not be justly denounced because of mistakes, evil acts or even crimes perpetrated by some of its emissaries or members any more than the church can be justly denounced because occasionally a human wolf is found in the clerical garb or because of the backsliding of an occasional member.

Some emissaries of labor have taught the doctrine of class hatred, distrust of fellow man and repudiation of the common obligations of citizenship. Some clergymen have helped such propaganda along by extreme expressions condemnatory of all organized labor because of mistakes or wrongs committed in its name and

which were probably sincerely regretted by the great majority of its members.

Such expressions do not represent the ethics of either the labor movement or of Christianity. They hurt and hinder the great beneficent work of the labor movement and of the church. They show that all good causes are retarded by over enthusiastic adherents whose judgment is out of balance.

THE INDUSTRIAL MILLENNIUM.

The Christian looks forward with hope and confidence for the coming of the millennium, when all men shall know Christ and serve him. The earnest advocate of trades unionism looks with hope and confidence for the dawning of an industrial millennium when all men shall know and have opportunity to enjoy a higher, nobler, better life. Scoffers and unbelievers scout the possibility of either and call us, who believe that these things will be, visionaries. I, for one, would rather be a visionary, with hope in the future and with some of the milk of human kindness in my veins than to be a cold blooded cynic, unable to find pleasure in present associations or encouragement in future prospects.

But let us not lose sight of this fact: The church can not save sinners and the labor unions can not give its full benefits to the individual except through the efforts of the individual sinner or workman. No sinner can declare himself to be a part of the church and be saved through vicarious atonement. No workman can hope to enjoy the benefits secured by the labor movement unless he is willing to work for them. And both may depend upon it that the portions of permanent good which they receive, either spiritual or material, will be in direct ratio with their personal efforts. The theory of universal salvation without regard to personal worth and the theory of socialism, under which each shall work when and at what he chooses, are alike impossible and impracticable.

Christ came to earth with a message of peace on earth, good will to man, and in appreciation of his efforts the populace crucified him. The message of peace and good will has, however, echoed down the halls of the centuries and I am optimistic enough to believe that despite the seething caldrons of industrial and international strife which are now observed in some places, there is, in proportion to the population, more of that spirit in the hearts of men today than ever before. Men prominent in industrial and in national affairs are actively employing their time, their energies and their influence in the direction and causes of industrial and of international peace.

NOT A PEACE BUT A *JUST* PEACE.

The desirability of peace in any walk or condition of life needs no discussion; but peace, in order to be lasting and in order to be a blessing, must be established in right ways and on right and just lines. I would hail with glad acclaim industrial peace so inaugurated; but I want no industrial peace which can not be had without dishonor. I would not wish to see peace established by a complete surrender on part of the workers for that would mean simply serfdom. I would not want to see peace come through an unconditional capitulation on part of the employers for that would soon bring actual anarchy. No peace enthroned under either of those conditions would be permanent or beneficial. Harmony is a thing greatly to be desired but it is not desirable that either side should furnish all the harmony. The disposition of the members of trades unions in the direction of industrial peace is best shown in their ready and steadily increasing subscriptions to the principle of arbitration.

One of the cardinal virtues of Christianity is charity and that beautiful spirit is one of those most generally accepted, taught and practiced among those who make up the organized labor movement. It is not too much to say that, considering their means, they give more liberally to the aid of unfortunate

or distressed fellows than do any others. They spread the mantle of charity over the shortcomings and faults of their associates and of others. They have big hearts and willing hands in the hour of trouble. Individual acts of unselfish devotion and of kindness could be recited almost without end. In one sad instance in the coal fields of Pennsylvania the mother of a little babe lay sick in bed. The father was brought home a corpse, the victim of an accident in the mine. The funeral was held and upon returning from the cemetery the friends who were doing all that human hands could do in such an hour found the wife and mother dead in her bed. What became of the little one? Did it find its way to an orphan asylum? No. A roughly clad, rough spoken and rough looking miner picked it up and carried it to his humble home where there were already a wife and eight children depending upon his slender earnings, and there the baby found a welcome and a home, and there to this day it still enjoys its share of whatever of comfort that home can furnish.

RECIPROCAL RIGHTS AND THE GOLDEN RULE.

And now a brief reference to the principle laid down by Christ in his most comprehensive command to men. This command that man shall do to others as he would that they should do to him embraces all the ethics of Christianity and contains all the directions necessary for a beautiful Christian life. It does not mean that we shall surrender our convictions and beliefs, or that we shall give way in all things to others. It means that in our thoughts and actions we shall give careful consideration to the rights, wishes and opinions of others and then govern our acts by what our consciences tell us is right, just and fair; that we shall do by them as we would believe it to be fair and right that they should do by us if our conditions and positions were reversed.

This principle is being advocated and taught and practiced by a continually

increasing number of trades unionists and trades unions. Its importance and the disastrous effects of ignoring it have been clearly demonstrated in the labor world. More and more men are becoming convinced that in order to achieve lasting success the movement must be both morally and economically right.

If we govern ourselves by this rule, so aptly termed the Golden Rule, we will bring into our daily lives all of the Christian virtues; we will broaden our natures; will have performed our share in bringing happiness to mankind; will have done our full part in the dissemination of peace on earth and have practiced good will to man.

You who hear me are disciples of Christianity or of the labor movement. I would urge you who are disciples of Christianity to preach the lessons of love, devotion, loyalty and all the other virtues which are to be drawn from the life of Christ, as applicable to life as it is lived today. The men of this day admit the fact and the personality of God, the Father, and of Christ, the Son, and do not care for theological dissertations intended to prove such fact or personality. To the disciples of the labor movement I would say: If you are teaching strife, discord and hatred you are doing harm to the cause, as well as to those who may follow your teachings. It is your duty to encourage men to strive to be the best workmen in their crafts, to be honest with themselves and all with whom they are associated or with whom they deal, to each do his part in his union and to teach the mission of the union to be the securing of the highest compensation, the shortest hours of labor and the best conditions of employment possible to secure within the limits of right, reason and justice.

To all I say: Put your hearts into your work. Dare to follow the dictates of your consciences. Have the courage of your convictions. Be, in fact, ambassadors for Christ or for the labor movement, or, better yet, for both, and remember that there is at

all times a cloud of witnesses around to be helped or hindered, benefited or harmed by your expressions and your examples.

Neither the emissary of labor nor the minister of the gospel can accomplish the best work or the fullest measure of success if he fails to realize the importance, on the one hand, of mixing the ethics of Christianity with his work on behalf of the toilers, and, on the other hand, of giving attention to the

practical side of life as represented in the ever present necessities of those who must work today in order that want may not be felt tomorrow.

Neither Christianity nor the labor movement can afford to have as disciples opportunists or extremists. Both movements are founded in eternal truth and we should bear ever in mind the spirit of the principles which we believe and teach rather than the letter of any text which we may select.

New York's Comedy of the Water Wagon

By Robert E. Rinehart

Contributed through the Association of Neighborhood Workers, New York City

During the tropical months, July and August, when the Broadway playhouses were dark and silent, those unfortunate New Yorkers, who for one reason and another remained in town, derived considerable amusement from the polemic skit, in which Commissioner Woodbury, head of the New York street cleaning department, and the Street Sprinkling Association struggled to determine which had the better right to throw water on the thoroughfares of the metropolis. It was the hit of the season. There were ominous mutterings of all sorts of litigation; such scorching words as bribes, intimidations, crookedness, mingled with courts, decisions, and injunctions, flew fast and furious, and at one time the interested spectators were treated to the highly diverting situation of a city official threatened with an injunction restraining him from performing the duties of his office. The street sprinkling association, as the heavy villain, hung this dire menace over the head of the street cleaning department, and facetiously proposed to secure its injunction against the city's official on the strength of a concession that in the beginning was given gratis by the city. The essence of the comedy was that this injunction was all but granted. There was a pretty duel, in which nothing thicker than water flowed, that

ended with honors even and with conditions practically the same as at the outset—except the education.

Commissioner Woodbury, through a rash resolution to keep New York's thoroughfares clean, stirred up the whole rumpus. As head of the street cleaning department, he may perhaps be pardoned for showing a slight disposition to perform a few of the duties for which he was appointed; but he went too far. Not satisfied with the efficiency of his "white wings" and street cleaning apparatus, the commissioner permitted his house-cleaning ambition to lead to the use of water. He began a systematic flushing of the street pavements in various portions of the city. There was no particular misdemeanor in his action, save that it cut in on the receipts of the Street Cleaning Association.

SPRINKLING AND ITS REVENUE.

A long time ago, in the dark ages of New York municipal history, or to be more explicit, before 1892, the watering of the city's unutterable thoroughfares of that period was in the hands of petty parties, small concerns or owners of single sprinkling carts. The same conditions prevailed which now continue in small cities and towns about the country. A man possessing a sprinkling wagon and a team of horses,

would secure the privilege of sprinkling the streets from the city and then proceed to get together a route of customers exactly after the fashion of a newsboy. In rare instances a man owned and operated several carts. Later on, to facilitate matters certain districts were allotted to certain men. Then some genius for monopoly, conceiving that it would be a paying venture to band all the individual owners of sprinkling carts into one concern, thereby controlling all the city sprinkling, organized the Street Sprinkling Association and in 1892 incorporated it under the laws of West Virginia to operate in New York City.

Since that time all New York street sprinkling has been under the control of this association. Beyond paying \$28,000 to the city for the water used in its business, it has not, so far as is known, given the municipal government any remuneration whatsoever for its immense concession. A little computing will demonstrate the great value of this grant. A charge of twenty-five cents a week for every twenty-foot frontage was made to each abutting property owner or resident who desired to have street sprinkling done. It will readily be seen that routes along streets lined with apartment houses and office buildings paid enormous returns. A single office building such as the Flat Iron Building was a veritable gold mine, for each tenant on every floor came in for his share of the obligations to the watering wagon. The association very naturally grew wealthy and powerful. Its officers were prominent men in the machines of both parties. Moreover it grew to believe that it held a lease on the New York streets, especially the principal thoroughfares.

WASHING VS. SPRINKLING.

When Commissioner Woodbury began his street washing operations somewhere back in the spring as soon as the temperature became mild enough, there was no objection from the street autocrat, the street sprinkling association. Every morning between 1 and 3 o'clock the street cleaning gangs flushed the

pavements, so that New York, in spite of a Tammany administration, was scrupulously clean in some portion at least. This would have been all well and good so far as the sprinkling company was concerned, if nothing further had arisen. But something did.

When the warm months came around and the sprinkling company prepared for its annual harvest, it was aghast to find itself confronted with a shrinkage in its sprinkling routes. The old time customers along Fifth Avenue and analogous streets, noting that the thoroughfares were clean every morning and that no dust remained for the sprinkling carts to lay, could not see any reason why they should pay out money for something they did not need. Consequently they abandoned the sprinkling routes in swarms. Moreover, to add to the unpleasantness of the company's feelings, the little sprinkling that took place was looked upon with disfavor by pedestrians and drivers, because it made the streets slippery and disagreeable for travel. People complained to the street cleaning department. Commissioner Woodbury heard their objections and with singular activity at once ordered the sprinkling carts to refrain from watering the streets that were being cleaned by flushing. Here was a pretty todo—the sprinkling association, which since 1892 had held undisputed sway over completed streets, ordered off those streets. At once those wires to the City Hall, which run beneath the city far lower than the subways, were set in motion. It was not long before Commissioner Woodbury's ukase was revoked by a mandate from the board of aldermen. The sprinkling company was restored to its rights.

But the company, thirsting for revenge, determined to remove the man that had menaced it, so it began steps toward enjoining Woodbury from flushing the streets, averring that he was infringing upon the charter given it in 1892 when he threw any water at all on the pavement. The fact that its charter had expired in 1902 and had not been renewed did not seem to make

Woodbury's infringement any less illegal. The board of aldermen is said to have wagged its many heads doubtfully over Woodbury's flushing. It looked as though the flushing would have to cease until the courts could be heard from, when a corporation lawyer came to the rescue and pointed out that flushing was not street sprinkling at all, but a street cleaning process. So the commissioner's pet system of street cleaning was saved by this subtle distinction. Thus ended the comedy of the water wagon.

It may have been that Commissioner Woodbury persecuted the street sprinkling association; he has always, since his tenure of office, been a sworn foe of that company. He has the startling opinion that perhaps street sprinkling possesses something in common with street cleaning and for that reason should come within the province of the city street cleaning department. He even went so far as to say that because the street sprinkling could be done better and cheaper by his department, it is the duty of the city to take it in hand.

THE "HEART" OF THE MATTER.

Much in favor of the commissioner's view might be discovered without very great investigation. He has, however, no sense of the propriety of tradition, whatever, and because a corporation is reputed to be without a conscience or a soul, he seems to take it for granted that it has no heart. This is an egregious mistake. A corporation has a heart. Place the corporation on the dissecting table, and a heart mixed up with its interior organs will be found somewhere close to its dividends. A careful anatomical research will probably reveal the heart bound up, artery like, by the dividends. Strike at the dividends of a corporation and hear the wail of anguish.

This is exactly what Commissioner Woodbury did when he put his flushing scheme in operation. It is not certain that the commissioner began his work with malice prepense against the street sprinkling company, but it may be well to note that in his desire to

give Gotham clean streets, he did not deluge the highways and byways of the Ghetto, where all the flushing he might have poured forth would scarcely have accomplished the cleansing needed, but preferred to flood diligently Fifth Avenue, the gold field of the sprinkling cart. Fairness forbids accusing the commissioner of malice prepense but the same fairness demands that he be accorded the utmost admiration for his adroit, though perhaps unconscious, rapierlike thrust at the heart of the street sprinkling corporation. Had he flushed the streets in the Mulberry Bend neighborhood until the countrymen of Columbus were forced to take to rafts and navigate in search of new worlds, the sprinkling association would have remained as meek as a millennium lion, for a sprinkling cart in that locality would do about as good business as an iceman at the north pole. That he should, however, assail the territory from which the company drew its most lucrative proceeds, was another and very serious matter.

Whether or not the commissioner made a deliberate attack upon the street sprinkling association when he began his street flushing is a matter of conjecture, but he now has it in mind to put that company out of commission. Once he attempted to have the street sprinkling given over to the street cleaning department by the passage of a measure at Albany. A bill to that effect was introduced in the last legislature and got lost in the mysteries of the committee. He will try again.

Common sense hopes to see the commissioner win his point. Flushing, whether it legally is sprinkling or cleaning, is the most effective method of freeing the streets of a large city from that gummy substance that forms on the top of hard pavements. Brushing and sweeping fails; and sprinkling renders it filthy. In the congested localities of the city, where push carts abound, flushing is the only way by which the streets can be made tolerable. If the street sprinkling association is going to be able, some time in the future, to secure an injunction

against flushing—which it must do if it expects to survive—the sooner sprinkling is given into the hands of the street cleaning department, the better for the city. If again, street sprinkling is going to prove a nuisance, as it did on Fifth Avenue and Broadway, it is time for some department to determine where it can be put to some service and excluded from localities where it is obnoxious.

It is somewhat difficult to specify just what resulted from the first set-to between the street cleaning department and the street sprinkling association. Things ended where they began. The streets were flushed and the streets were sprinkled. The association has got to declare that its summer was as profitable as previous years. After all, it was probably a drawn battle—save for the education.

Chicago's Infirmary Transformed A Year's Achievement

By Henry G. Foreman

President of the Board of County Commissioners of Cook County

EDITORIAL NOTE: "The Reform of a City Poor House," was graphically narrated by Miss Julia C. Lathrop in **THE COMMONS** for February, as well under way in Chicago. Beginning with a tragedy, it has steadily proceeded through the exceptional efficiency of the Board of County Commissioners, the co-operation of an able advisory committee, the backing of the County Civil Service Law, the considerably discreet support of the city press, the abandonment of cruel economies and the expenditure of \$500,000, the care and forethought of County Architect Watson in designing well adapted buildings, the appointment of a general superintendent who was at once a well qualified physician and an expert institutional administrator, and last, but by no means least, through the high ideals and business capacity of President Foreman. It was with justifiable pride that he addressed the Board and some 200 citizens, after they had inspected the marvelously transformed little city of 3,100 insane, dependent and consumptive inhabitants, in the words which he contributes to our columns. With the following brief sentences, he introduced his businesslike statement of the great results achieved in fulfillment of the promising policy entered upon only a year ago: "At a meeting of this Board one year ago, you were advised of plans for new buildings and of proposed changes in the administrative policy of these institutions, to enlarge the capacity and to improve the charity service afforded here. Today we have shown you the new buildings, and you have seen evidence of the new administrative policy in operation."—

The new County Buildings at Dunning were constructed after consultation with medical experts and other Chicago men and women interested in public institutions, and the Building Committee and the architects availed themselves of many valuable suggestions. The combined result is that our buildings present the newest and most approved ideas of sanitary science and furnish the most humane and most satisfactory provisions for the care of the insane and of consumptives.

PURPOSE AND CAPACITY OF NEW BUILDINGS.

The new buildings may be summarized briefly as follows:

A group of three cottages with a capacity of 160 patients and 20 employees. These cottages are occupied by the milder class of female patients.

The Farm Ward with a capacity of 55 patients and ten employees.

The Hospital Ward for Insane Patients (the reconstructed modern building formerly used for consumptives) which will be ready for occupancy in a short time. The capacity is 326 patients and 14 employees. This hospital is provided with improved plumbing, ventilating, lighting and operative service and with safeguards for patients with suicidal or homicidal tendencies. It is one of the world's best general hospitals for sick insane.

A Pavilion Building for Male Insane with a capacity for 160 patients.

A combined Morgue and Pathological building, which affords considerate

A new home for the cure of Tuberculosis, comprising four separate wards and an administration building, with total capacity for 220 patients and



HENRY G. FOREMAN

care for the bodies of the claimed dead and furnishes a small amphitheatre and a few rooms for the study of diseases and their causes. There also are rooms and an office for the clerk.

quarters for all nurses and physicians employed there.

The new buildings give good return for their cost as shown by the following table of per capitias:

PER CAPITA COST OF EACH BUILDING.	
Five Consumptive Cottages.....	\$ 182.18
Three Insane Cottages.....	\$ 440.45
One Farm Building.....	\$ 423.80
Three Pavilion Buildings for..	
Insane	\$ 331.86

The Building Committee, when making tours of inspection, previous to construction work found the cost of public buildings of this character to be from \$500 to \$1000 per capita.

FACILITIES NEW AND OLD.

The new home for the cure of tuberculosis has been occupied for several months. One of the first decided changes noted among the patients was the marked diminution of coughing. An abundance of fresh air and sunlight is afforded; and there are facilities for the outdoor treatment. The mortality remains high, of course, because the best of buildings and advantages will not rebuild a destroyed lung and the great majority of our patients still are of the absolutely hopeless type. This hospital has ample accommodation for all patients likely to come for several years.

The new buildings for the insane give that class of unfortunates cheerful and homelike surroundings. The farm ward, for the patients who work on the farm, is like a modern residence. It has modern facilities, including shower baths.

The public little understands and therefore underestimates the importance of the pathological department. The work includes not only the search for the causes of diseases by post-mortem examinations but laboratory examinations by which serious ailments are recognized quickly and certainly in their early stages. Thousands of such examinations have been made during the last year. Previous records show only a few individual efforts of this character here. While the Infirmary has fair accommodations for the poor, it is not a satisfactory building. Our bond issue for \$500,000 with which the new structures, here and at the County Hospital, were erected, did not permit of replacing old structures more than

two stories high and not fireproof with fireproof buildings. The great demand was to provide enough room to care for the sick and injured poor of this great County.

However, I recommended in my last annual message to the County Board, and again later in a special message, that steps be taken to tear down this old Infirmary and other County buildings, not fireproof and more than two stories high, and to replace them with fireproof buildings. Such a step would remove the old style prison-like structures still in use here for the insane. We are taking all possible precautions against fire. City fire captains drill our local department. We have a new electrical alarm system and other new fire equipment. We have put canvas chutes in the Infirmary and instructed our patients how to use them.

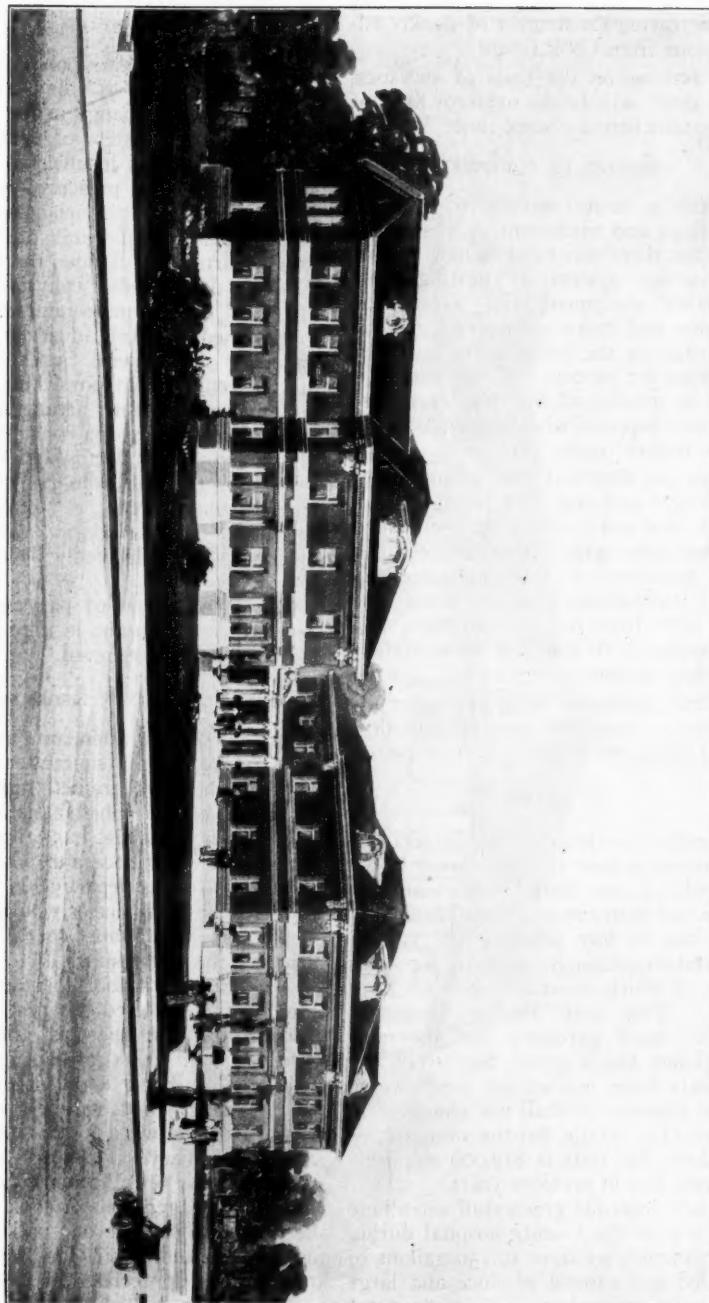
The Infirmary has been improved in other ways during the last year. It has lost the objectionable "smoker's alley" and the smoking population now has a very decent, clean, large room for its use. The operating room and the surgical wards have been given special consideration and now are in very fair, and useful condition.

RELIEF OF THE CONGESTION.

The departments for insane which you found at the time of your visit last year seriously overcrowded already are much relieved and a complete relief is within easy reach. At the time of your visit there were more than 300 insane patients sleeping on the floor. During the few months following the number increased to 360. Within a very few days we actually shall have not only good clean beds but the best of air and sanitary conditions for several hundred new patients.

The relief is due first to the increased capacity afforded by the new buildings and secondly to the fact that Cook County's quotas in the several state hospitals for the insane have been increased at our request by about 650. Of these 50 new patients have been sent to Watertown and 50 more to Bartonville. The Kankakee and Elgin hos-

NEW GROUP OF BUILDINGS FOR INSANE



pitals have been enlarging their quotas by increasing the number of weekly admissions from Cook County.

I assume, on the basis of statistics, that there will be no overcrowding of the insane here for some time.

CHANGES IN EQUIPMENT.

After a careful survey of the old buildings and equipment, it was apparent that there was need of new plumbing, a new system of heating, new electrical equipment and a less expensive and more satisfactory method of firing for the boilers. But we were cramped for money. We could not afford to provide all that was needed so we have supplied what seemed to be the most urgent needs.

The old electrical light plant was of the single unit and, there being no gas, when that went wrong as it did once, the buildings were left in darkness. We are installing a duplicate electrical plant, 150 kilowat close connected unit. We light from one central plant, and, of course, with the duplicate system, are safe against emergencies.

Chain grates are being put under the boilers, as they are more efficient than hand firing and promise to save money.

THE FARM.

Another evidence of a business administration here is to be found in the records of our farm. For years the farm had been run at a loss. The county has had to buy potatoes and canned vegetables, although we have 267 acres here, of which about 200 acres are farm land. This year we put in a civil service truck gardener, and the farm flourished like a green bay tree. The patients have reveled in fresh vegetable dinners. I shall not endeavor to go into the details, but the value of our products for 1904 is \$12,000 against a varying loss in previous years.

Aside from the green stuff eaten here and sent to the County hospital during the summer, we have 10,150 gallons of pickled and canned produce and large quantities of potatoes, cabbage, etc., laid by for winter use.

REORGANIZATION OF THE MEDICAL STAFF.

The administrative policy for the professional side of the work involved a radical change in the medical staff. The old system of eight assistant physicians was insufficient and unsatisfactory. The present system includes five senior physicians acting as responsible medical heads of the various departments. Under the personal direction of the senior physicians five male and three female internes attend to the medical work, making a total, including the General Superintendent, of fourteen resident physicians against nine under the former arrangement.

In addition there is a consulting staff of five expert physicians and surgeons residing in Chicago, who give their services when required.

The medical service in all departments has been decidedly benefited by the new policy.

The classification of patients in the department for insane is improving as the congestion is relieved.

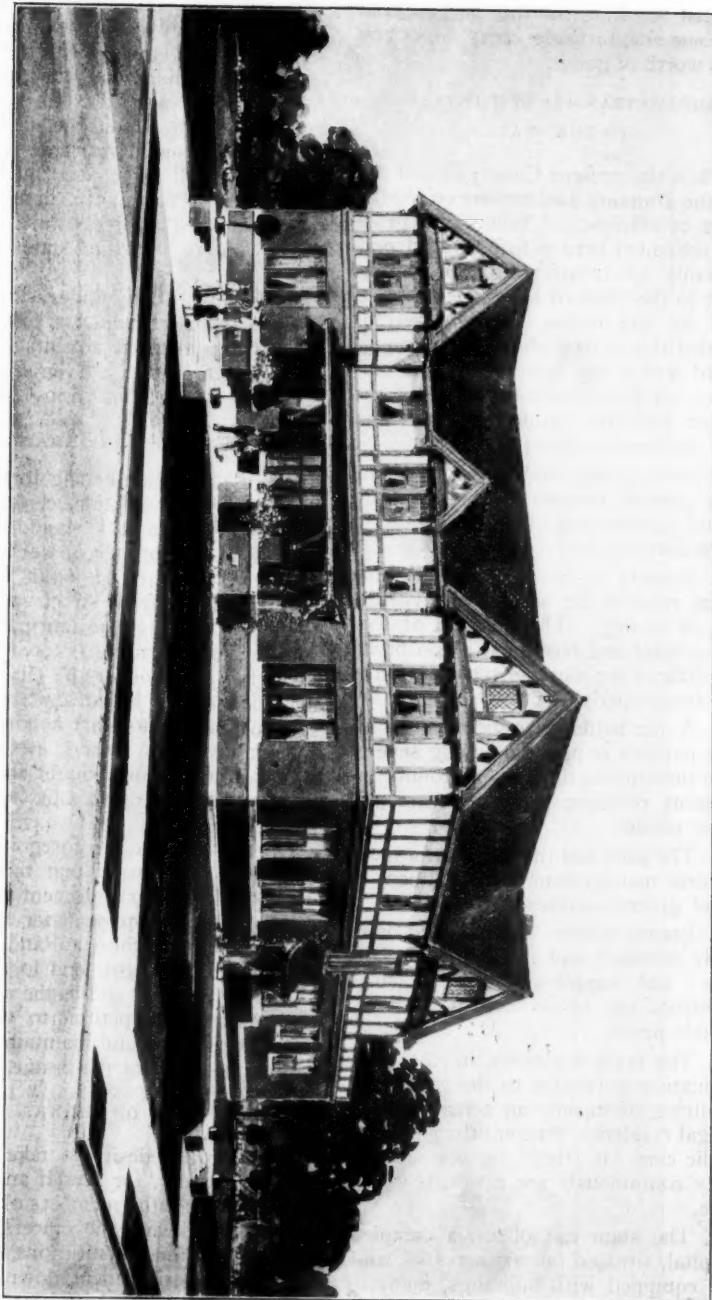
IMPROVEMENT IN NURSING SERVICE.

The nurses and attendants are under the charge of a superintendent of nurses, who is a trained nurse with special experience. She is assisted by six head nurses, who also have had training school experience and who are in charge of various departments. One innovation is the service of women nurses in the care of insane men. It has achieved the best results.

The training school for nurses and attendants completed its first year in June last. From the class there were selected eight most promising nurses who now are being detailed for second year training, which will be given them in the Hospital ward for the insane and at the Infirmary. This will mean to them genuine bedside instruction.

Thanks to generous friends we have been able to provide our patients with amusement and music. This service has been greatly appreciated by the patients and has been of distinct value in their treatment. A committee of your Board

FARM COTTAGE FOR WORKING PATIENTS



handled the fund for this purpose and by some magic made every \$100 buy \$200 worth of goods.

PROPOSED TRANSFER OF THE INSANE
TO THE STATE.

While the present County Board has put the Dunning Institutions on a high plane of efficiency, I believe the problem presented here is to be solved permanently by transferring this equipment to the State of Illinois for a Hospital for the insane. I have recommended this radical step to the County Board and it has instructed the Committee on Legislation to take up the matter with the proper officials and urge its consummation.

Without going into details let me state general reasons why the State should assume care of all the insane in its various counties:

1. Insanity is a public misfortune which reaches far beyond the village, city, or county. The problem of correct control and treatment is too broad and difficult for small government units to solve properly.

2. A far better classification of insane patients is possible among several state institutions than in one county institution, resulting in better care and better results.

3. The state has the means of a more uniform management and treatment in broad general outlines.

4. Improvements are much more easily obtained and maintained by the state; and supplies bought in large quantities can be secured at most favorable prices.

5. The restless element in the state population gravitates to the great city, acquiring often only an actual and not a legal residence, thus entitling them to public care, if they become insane. They continuously are residents of the state.

6. The state can obtain a complete hospital, situated on 267 acres of land, and equipped with buildings, many of them erected this year, modern and up-to-date, with an uncrowded capacity of

1870 patients. The new home for consumptives easily could be made into shops for the employment of the insane, thus rounding out the equipment for a state institution, with room for expansion; Or, should the state start a colony of consumptives, here would be a modern, well equipped nucleus to start with. The county, in my judgment, can well afford to turn over all this property to the state without charge.

7. An institution, under state management, situated adjacent to Chicago, would be a decided advantage to the people of the state. Even Elgin and Kankakee are too far from Chicago.

FOR A NEW INFIRMARY.

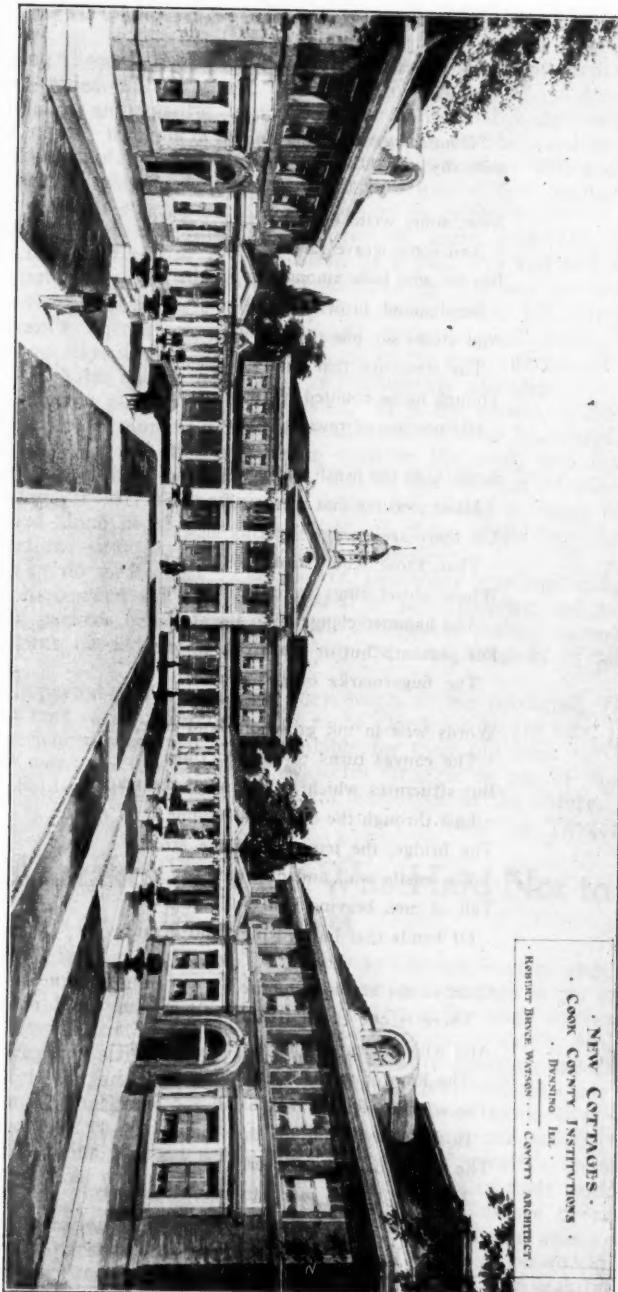
While the insane belong to the state the infirmary population certainly belongs to the counties. Should the state take over this property, we could secure a large tract of land in Cook County remote from street car service to the city and erect an infirmary there. The present infirmary is too near Chicago, for the good of the city and for the good of the inmates. Should the state not desire to start a hospital for consumptives, we could erect a new hospital on the land bought for the infirmary site and move our tubercular patients to it.

On the basis of the foregoing, I respectfully recommend that this Advisory Board, if your judgment approves, endorse the plan to transfer the Dunning property to the state and that the Advisory Board also send to the State Board of Charities and to the next General Assembly a petition to take over those institutions and maintain them as a State hospital for the insane.

WORDS OF THANKS.

In closing I desire to take this occasion to thank, for myself and for the County Board, the members of the Advisory Board, and the officers and the employes of these institutions, from the General Superintendent down, for the efficient and faithful assistance in the great charity work performed here.

NEW COTTAGES FOR INSANE



The Calloused Hand

"Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might."—Ecclesiastes 9:10.

Now, some write books of empty words,
And some weave fancies into song—
But he who toils among the shreds,
Barehanded, brown of face, and strong,
And clears the place where shall arise
The structure that shall long endure,
Though he be counted far from wise
His portion of reward is sure.

Some, with the brush and many hues,
Make pictures that men rush to see—
Yet there are no more worthy views
Than those where many workmen be,
Where chisel rings against the stone
And hammer clangs upon the steel,
For peasant's hut or monarch's throne
The fingermarks of toil reveal.

Words writ in ink grow dim and fade,
The canvas turns to dust in time,
But structures which bare hands have made
Last through the centuries sublime;
The bridge, the temple, and the street,
The castle wall and city gate
Tell of men braving cold and heat,
Of hands that builded high and great.

Clear in the harmony of life
There is one chord that rings alone
And which with surging strength is rife—
The hum of toil is in its tone,
The sounds of tools that blend and blur
In harmony from all the lands,
The hymn of the artificer.
The world owes much to calloused hands.

—W. D. N., in the *Chicago Tribune*.

Labor Discusses Stock Yards Issues

The following discussion of the stock yards strike issues by two earnest and well posted trades unionists, not personally involved, is a good instance of the independence and manful contention for individual conviction within trades union ranks. So much is ignorantly asserted and believed as to the alleged invariable despotism of labor leaders that our readers will appreciate the frank and fearless way in which this discussion was at first conducted on the platform of a public meeting, and now appears in print.

The contention over the "democracy" involved arose over Mr. Grant's insistence that after a strike had been declared by a full, free and fair vote of the unions it could only be successfully conducted by the one or very few chosen to have charge of it. At this point and some others Mr. Fitzpatrick presses Mr. Grant's friendly criticisms beyond their original intent, which never raised the question as to the latter's loyalty to the true interests of trades unionism with which he has been so long and honorably identified.

One thing is made plain by this discussion. It is the answer to the question we raised at the beginning of the second strike, "Who blundered away the packers' pact?" It was the headstrong men in the rank and file, who really went out before they were ordered. But in the opinion of other seasoned labor leaders, if Mr. Donnelley had as firmly refused to issue the call for it, as he stood alone in his effort to call it off, there would have been no second strike and the situation would have been saved.

But all was by no means lost. For, as Mr. Donnelley was man enough to declare, the unions learned a long needed lesson in self discipline and moderation; and, as the packers have shown by their subsequent action, some of the causes of complaint needed to be rectified for the best interests of all concerned.

As to the imported strike breakers, they were, as we predicted, for the most part left to take care of themselves or to be cared for by the city, just as soon as the experienced workmen were available for their old jobs.

So our last word on the needlessly wasteful struggle is one of hope for better relations between the packers and their employes in the future.

GRAHAM TAYLOR.

I. Labor's Mistakes Where it Was Hard Not to Err

By Luke Grant

There have been few struggles between employers and employes in recent years which have furnished as many valuable lessons to the student as the recent stockyards strike. There the beneficial effects of trades unionism were seen to a most remarkable degree. There also the excesses to which new and inexperienced unions, flushed with success, sometimes run were likewise painfully evident.

Before the organization of the men in the stockyards the packers were wont to regard their workmen as mere machines. Pacemakers were employed to see that those machines were kept

running to the full limit of endurance. Little attention was paid to the comfort or well-being of the wage workers. In order to increase dividends men were required to work overtime one day and to find themselves without any work the next. To keep stock over night meant an expense to the packers, which they believed of greater importance than the well-being of their workers.

The intermittent nature of employment had a demoralizing effect on the workmen. I know of no condition as likely to make men indolent, careless and improvident as a condition like this where the uncertainty of employment

was ever present. Because of that and other conditions it may be said that the standard of life among the stockyards workers was as low as anywhere in America, certainly much lower than is commensurate with our ideas of American citizenship.

INTOXICATION OF POWER.

With the organization of the men these conditions were materially changed. Through the successful work of Michael Donnelly the packers were forced to make one concession after another. Wages were increased, overtime was abolished in many instances and work became less irregular. These successes brought about without a strike turned the heads of the workmen. They became intoxicated with power. They had reached that stage in their career where success was to them more dangerous than defeat.

What is the next development we find following this betterment of working conditions and this raising of the standard of life? That the standard of life among the workmen had been raised through organization was evident to the most casual observer. Confident in the strength which comes with organization and still smarting under the old pacemaking system, the workmen resorted to that most dangerous of all trade union mistakes, the limitation of output.

It has always been contended by the advocates of trades unionism that organization brings about a higher standard of life among the workers and that with this higher standard of life comes a greater degree of efficiency. There is plenty of proof that this contention is correct. The standard of life among American workmen is higher than anywhere else in the world and the American workman is the most efficient under the sun.

DANGERS OF LIMITATION.

But at the stockyards this natural order was reversed. Instead of the volume of production being increased through the greater efficiency which we

hold comes with a higher standard of life, we find the production decreased, not slightly which might have been permissible; but to an extent that fair-minded men must condemn whether trades unionists or not.

It should be said to the credit of Mr. Donnelly and some of the other leaders who were able to see beyond the square mile of territory embracing the Chicago stockyards, that they protested against this limitation. But their protests were unavailing and I am satisfied now that this limitation of output had more to do with causing the strike than the desire of the packers to hire unskilled labor at what they termed the market price, which was in their estimation lower than they were paying their laborers.

It is not necessary to dwell on the danger of a trade union making a demand on employers which stipulates the amount of work which shall be performed in a day. The trades unions of the country have for years battled to do away with the piece-work system and have accomplished it in most trades, and where a union specifies the amount of work to be performed in a day, I cannot see that it differs materially from the piece-work system, except that in some respects it is worse. This I consider one of the most serious mistakes by the workmen, although it was only a natural reaction from the conditions imposed by the packers previous to the organization of the men.

The calling of the first strike in the face of an offer of arbitration was technically a mistake. No union whose members are engaged in an industry where the cessation of work so materially affects the comfort of the public can afford to refuse arbitration. Many unions in the past have fought hard battles to win such a concession as arbitration, which even with all its shortcomings is preferable to a strike in a quasi-public industry such as the packing house business.

VALUE OF EXPERIENCE.

But before condemning President Donnelly for refusing arbitration offered at the eleventh hour by the

packers, it would be well to consider the peculiar conditions existing at the stockyards. As has already been said success had turned the heads of the men. They did not want arbitration. They wanted to fight because they felt confident of victory. I believe Donnelly gauged the sentiment among them correctly. If he had countermanded the strike order it would have brought about a revolution. The men would have walked out without orders. They had to have the experience which comes with a set-back and now that they have got it I feel it will be better for them.

It is a pity that one union will not profit by the mistakes and experiences of other unions, but they will not do it and this applies especially to new unions which have formed an exalted opinion of their own importance. After a severe setback they begin to take their own measure correctly. They begin to realize that there are two sides to the labor question as there are to other questions and they proceed more cautiously and consequently more successfully after a hard fight.

That is one reason why a great strike is never entirely lost. It teaches valuable lessons to both sides that they could not learn in any other way. It brings both sides to a realization of the fact that abuse of power will react. It proves that sane and reasonable methods must be used by both sides if industrial harmony is to prevail.

The second strike at the stockyards must be set down as one of the biggest blunders ever made in an industrial conflict, no matter how we may try to excuse it. It is true that the strike was actually in progress, called by the men themselves an hour before it was sanctioned by Donnelly. Even then it should not have been sanctioned.

BLUNDER DUE TO INEXPERIENCE.

But again that blunder may be laid to inexperience, not so much on the part of the executive officers as on the part of the rank and file. They had not yet been sufficiently chastened to be able to see conditions as they actually were. The experience had to be

dearly bought, but all experience that is worth anything is costly.

In my opinion at the time of the first settlement the packers actually were beaten, but immediately after the second strike was called, they realized that it must be a fight to the finish unless they were prepared to turn over the entire management of their business to shop committees and business agents. Had the unions been successful there is no saying to what extent they might have gone in making new rules, and without attempting to defend the packers, it must be said that some of the old rules were exacting and irritating enough. The packers knew this condition very well and it may have been noticed that after the negotiations following the second strike were broken off, the packers never deviated one inch from the position they assumed at that time, namely that they had to whip the unions to the point where they would make no agreement with them whatever. That does not necessarily mean that no agreements will be made with the unions in the stockyards in future, in fact I feel certain that agreements will be made again and that before many months if the butcher workmen have sense enough to stand by their organization. The future rests with the workmen themselves.

ORGANIZATION OF THE UNSKILLED.

Another interesting point which the stockyards strike brought out is the question of whether unskilled laborers so-called, can be successfully organized into trade unions. This is a question on which there are wide differences of opinions today. It is generally agreed among the most advanced thinkers in the union ranks that it is not only possible to organize laborers successfully, but it is absolutely essential to do so for the protection of the skilled workmen. Some, however, still maintain that if laborers are to be organized they should be kept in unions by themselves and not allowed to mix with skilled mechanics.

The truth of the matter is that the

division of labor under our modern industrial system has made the skilled artisan a thing of the past and we are fast becoming a nation of specialists rather than skilled mechanics. In this specialization of industry, each plays his little part and the unskilled man is quite as necessary as the man requiring a greater degree of skill. I know of no clearer illustration of this fact than the stockyards strike. It proved that the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen is organized on the right lines when it aims to control every person engaged in the butcher business whether he is the skilled butcher making 50 cents an hour or the humble laborer in the hide cellar making from 15 to 20 cents.

Doubtless you all noticed that when the packers resumed work with non-union men the cattle-killing departments were the first to start up! The cattle butchers are supposed to be the aristocrats among the butcher workmen. They are the men who make 50 cents an hour and require skill. Still the slaughtering of cattle went along every day, the output being gradually increased, while the by-products handled by the so-called unskilled men were allowed to go to waste because the packers could not find experienced laborers to care for them. The strike was in progress some six weeks before the packers were able to open their smokehouses where the men are supposed to be unskilled, while by that time the slaughtering of cattle had been brought up almost to normal.

SKILLED MEN MOST EASILY SECURED
DURING STRIKE.

What are we to take from this fact, except that it was easier to procure skilled men than men with experience to do work that is classed as unskilled? It may be true that the packers made greater efforts to keep their killing departments in operation, but the fact remains, staring us in the face, that the cattle butchers with all their skill were the easiest class of men to supplant with strike-breakers.

This fact in itself should be suf-

ficient to dissuade the cattle butchers from the foolish step they are now contemplating, that is breaking away from the Amalgamated Meat Cutters to form an independent union of their own, composed entirely of skilled cattle butchers.

In the conduct of the strike each side might have taken more advantage of the other than was actually the case. It has been said that the packers were determined to crush out unionism in the stockyards. I do not believe that such was the case, not that the packers might not have wanted to be free from the domination (as they termed it) of business agents and shop stewards, but I am satisfied that they were never foolish enough to seriously think they could crush out unionism.

The packers made their strong plea on the insincerity of the men in breaking the first agreement after it had been signed. It is true that that plea had its effect on the public, but if the packers had played their strongest card they would have caused to be published the demands of the men made upon them in full. If I had been conducting the strike for the packers I would have inserted a full-page advertisement in every newspaper in the city, showing what the actual demands of the men were. Had this been done, the fact that a limitation was placed on the amount of work to be done in every single department would have been the most damaging argument that could have been brought out against the workmen. It would have swayed the minds of the public as no other argument could have done and where it would have hurt most was in the fact that it was true.

A good deal was said during the strike that the struggle had broadened out until it was not merely a fight between the packers and the butcher workmen, but a fight between organized labor and organized capital.

UNIONISM INDESTRUCTABLE.

That is one of the mistakes which are frequently made. Leaders of organized labor in public speeches de-

clare that if this or that fight is lost it means the death of trades unionism. This is absurd. There is no fight that comes up in any industry which means the death of trades unionism no matter what the result of the fight may be. Unions may now and then meet with a crushing defeat but it does not mean the death of unionism. Unionism cannot be killed. As long as there is economic injustice there will be some force to combat that injustice, whether it goes under the name of trade unionism or some other. This idea of putting the life of trades unionism in the balance every time a big industrial battle is on is not only absurd but it is impolitic in that it gives our adversaries a chance to rejoice should the advantage be on their side at the end.

LITTLE VIOLENCE.

I cannot close this discussion of the conduct of the strike without referring to the gratifying fact that there was so little violence. Considering the location of the trouble, the character of the men and the general morale of the neighborhood where fist fights and wife-beatings are every-day occurrences, the absence of violence is a glowing tribute to the discipline of the Butcher's union without which a union would be no more than a mob. Too much credit cannot be given the union men and their executive officers for this pleasing condition.

THE SYMPATHETIC STRIKE.

As to the wisdom of the sympathetic strike of all the trades in the stockyards there is room for a difference of opinion. One thing appears certain that the sympathetic strike did not materially change the final results, while on the other hand it had the effect of complicating the situation by dividing the executive power where centralization of power should have been aimed at.

I am a believer in sympathetic strikes only to a certain extent. I think that the stockyards situation was one where the sympathetic strike was permissible, and it may be advisable, because the

members of all the unions were employed by the same corporations and where such is the case I do not believe it is unionism for members of one craft to remain at work for a firm while that firm is engaged in trying to defeat the members of another craft. Beyond that, however, I believe that sympathetic strike is a dangerous weapon. It is a two-edged sword that is likely to hurt the wielder more than his antagonist.

TOO MUCH DEMOCRACY.

After the sympathetic strike was called and the executive power passed into the hands of a large committee the same weakness which has been present among the butchers in the yards for the past two years became painfully evident. This weakness of which I speak is in too much democracy. That may appear a startling statement to some of you who are stanch believers in democracy but it is true nevertheless. In the various departments in the stockyards there were the shop stewards, then the shop committees, then the business agent of the union, then an officer of the national union and so on. There was altogether too much division of executive power, there was too much democracy. The proof of this can be seen in the proposed reconstruction of the union through which it is proposed to place one officer of the union at each packing center and allow him to have full executive power.

I believe in democracy, I believe in the referendum vote in labor unions, more because I know of nothing now to take its place, than because I believe that the voice of the majority is always correct. It is possible, however, to have a referendum system where the rank and file of the unions can express itself and still have more centralization of executive power in the hands of one man or at least of a small committee.

Had there been less of this conflict of authority in the stockyards, had there been a responsible head intrusted with authority to deal with the packers for every man in the union, it is pos-

sible the strike would not have occurred. The danger of one-man power in labor unions is largely fanciful and sentimental so long as the members have the right to remove that man if he fails in his duty.

All during the six weeks which the fight lasted after the other unions in the stockyards joined with the butchers this conflict of authority was plainly seen. Each representative of a union involved thought he was as much entitled to be the real strike leader as was President Donnelly and this proved the greatest weakness of the strike and was responsible for many of the blunders. It simply was a case of its being everybody's fight and consequently nobody's fight. On the other hand in the first ten days of the strike when the butchers alone were involved the conduct of the strike received the marked approbation of the public. Public sentiment was largely with the strikers during that time, Donnelly was lauded as a leader of great ability. It is true that the fatal blunder of calling the second strike had much to do with changing public opinion, but that was but the beginning of a series of mistakes that were made daily by the allied trades' committee after it assumed the management of the struggle.

THE FUTURE.

In closing I wish to say a word relative to the future. That the strike was not lost in the true sense is best seen from the present conditions in the stockyards. The men are working more steadily and consequently earn-

ing more money than they ever did before. The packers are evidently trying to carry out their promises made during the strike to have the shipments of stock more evenly distributed throughout the week so that steadier employment could be given the men at work.

It is true that a few of the men employed during the strike have been retained, a greater number, perhaps, than we would wish to see. But there is a good reason for that. While I have never spoken with any of the packers on that subject, I believe the object in keeping a few strike-breakers at work is to eliminate the system of limitation of output. If the non-union men can do more than the union permitted under the old rules, it is a standing rebuke to this system of limitation. It gives the packer the opportunity to point to it and say that the union encourages laziness.

With this limitation of output abolished, with the little petty exactions of shop stewards and business agents eliminated, with executive authority vested in one responsible man to deal with the packers in all disputes that may arise, I believe the Butcher Workmen will grow stronger and be a greater power for the betterment of the conditions of its members than it has ever been. It has seen some of its mistakes and if it will but profit by the experience gained during the strike, it will go on in its work of uplifting its membership on broader and better lines. It will turn its seeming defeat into a great victory and will have made one great step forward on the road to industrial emancipation.

II. Defence of the Strike Policy

By John Fitzpatrick

Organizer for the Chicago Federation of Labor

It will be remembered that the Allied Trades Council, whose relation to the management of the Stock Yards Strike is so severely criticised by Mr. Grant,

was brought into existence at the time of the strike. The Mechanics Trade and Labor Council resolved itself into the Allied Trades Council to permit the

Butcher Workmen to be represented there. In view of Mr. Grant's criticisms, the Mechanics Trade and Labor Council, at its meeting October 17, 1904, instructed me to formulate an answer.

As causing the loss of the strike Mr. Grant makes the following charges against the position of the unions and concerning alleged defects in the management of the strike:

1. That the unions tried to enforce an extreme limitation of output.
2. That the packers had no difficulty in employing skilled workmen during the strike.
3. That it was a mistake to sanction the second strike.
4. That all mistakes during the strike were caused by the Allied Trades Council.
5. That there was too much democracy in the management of the strike.

Taking these up in order let us first consider the

LIMITATION OF OUTPUT.

As one of the reasons why the strike was lost Bro. Grant attempts to prove that it was because the Unions in the Stock Yards tried to limit the output, or in other words they decreased the volume of business of each department. Let us see what the actual conditions are and then determine who is responsible. The Packers have a right to employ just as few or just as many employees as they can use. The Union does not insist nor does it ask the Packers to keep an employee one moment longer than they need him. The Union never insisted that a certain individual be employed to perform a certain amount of work. The Packers have the right to secure the most competent employees. The Union never asked the Packers to keep an inefficient hand when a more skillful or better workman could be had. The Packers and the Union did agree on a proposition and this is probably what Brother Grant construes as limiting the output. The proposition was to the effect that where there was a certain number of hours to be worked, or a certain amount of work to be performed, that it would be di-

vided as equally as possible among those employed to perform that work. If Brother Grant can show us any injustice in that either to the Packers, the public or the workers, we will be thankful to him. We are at a loss to know how organized labor employed in Packing Houses can limit the output, and how the charges can be applied to the Local Unions in the Stock Yards. He fails to specify one single case, or department, or even one instance where it happened. The best proof that the union did not limit the output is in the fact that there is not a single department that had to employ extra help simply because the department became unionized. The volume of business done by the Packers has increased rather than decreased in the past three years, and the number of employees in proportion has decreased rather than increased. It is an admitted fact that union workmen perform more and better work in a shorter space of time than unorganized workmen.

There is a limitation of output in the Stock Yards; but organized labor pleads not guilty, and if organized labor had its say it would quickly be ended. That is the limitation of output as operated by the Packers. Here is how they do it. They will kill 1000 or 5000 animals a day, just enough to keep the price of meat where they want it. It is a well known fact that the Packers can carry an eight month's supply of fresh meat but do they do it? No, they carry only a few weeks' supply, thereby limiting the output and maintaining a system of plundering the American Beef Eaters by extortionate prices. In order to evade prison bars they charge the limitation of output up to the workers because they think the workers are unable to defend themselves against the charge. The newspapers being controlled by the trusts have to lend their columns to assist this outrage.

EMPLOYMENT OF SKILLED WORKMEN DURING THE STRIKE.

Brother Grant then takes up the matter of skilled and unskilled workmen and says that it was easier for the Pack-

ers to secure skilled cattle butchers than it was to secure non-union unskilled workmen and to prove the above he says that in a few weeks after the strike started that business was normal. The cattle butchers were not so easily replaced as Mr. Grant would have us believe, and the number of non-union cattle butchers that were practical workmen could be counted upon your fingers. But the Packers did secure practical skilled butchers. Brother Grant does not say where they were secured from, and fair play should induce him to tell. It is well known that Swift & Co., maintain about 300 branch houses throughout the country; these branch houses are superintended by practical butchers. The other large Packers have a similar number of branch houses managed in same way. When the strike started the various branch house managers were brought to Chicago and put to work killing, and there is no doubt that they could dress a beef just as well if not better than the ordinary help. These branch house managers were concentrated in one plant and business resumed, but never reached anything like normal. It is also known that butchers were transferred from one plant to another in order to increase the number of animals killed in that plant, and make it appear that business was normal; but it was only normal in that plant and at that time when all the killing forces controlled by the Packers were concentrated there. But how about the sheep and hog killing departments? Did they reach normal or anything like it? No. Then the forces of the Packers were in a very unsatisfactory condition. The true state of affairs as existing in the Packing Houses during the strike was furnished to the press daily by the labor organizations, but the press dared not publish such facts; they could only publish that which was handed them by the Press agent of the Packers.

MISTAKE TO SANCTION THE SECOND STRIKE.

Now we come to the third proposition in which Brother Grant holds

that it was fatal to sanction the second strike. He states that the first strike was well managed and that public opinion was largely on the strikers' side, and that Brother Donnelly was lauded as a great leader, but he will not admit there was any reason for the second strike. We agree with what he says about Brother Donnelly but we cannot agree with him when he refers to public opinion. We would first have to decide what portion of public opinion he refers to. If he means the part controlled by the so-called public press, then he is right, but if he refers to the great portion of public opinion as represented by organized labor, then we take issue with him, because that portion was with the strikers to the end. This can easily be proven by the aid given the strikers by all organized labor, by the Stock Yard Businessmen's Strikers' Aid society, by reform, fraternal, religious, and benevolent societies, and by disinterested people all over the city. Some of our most prominent business men who stand on the side of justice, unsolicited made large daily donations to maintain the strikers.

Any person who was watching the actions of the Packers closely and had any interest in the welfare of the Unions could easily see what the Packers attempted on the morning of the second strike, and it is useless to try to defend the Packers by saying that the trouble was caused by zealous superintendents or foremen. The Packers acted upon the supposition that when the men were ordered back to work, that they were so anxious to get back that neither President Donnelly nor any one else could get them to walk out again. The Packers believing this laid a deep plot and thought to disrupt the unions through humiliation. They left the stewards, delegates and officers of the Union standing in line and picked out men known as "loyal" and sent them in to work. The Packers never dreamed of a second strike; they thought their plan would work, that the officers of the locals would be humiliated, the rank and file would lose confidence in the union and the unions would be destroyed.

But the pit-fall failed to work and the plan of the Packers fell through. When President Donnelly and his associates were made aware of what the Packers were attempting they immediately sanctioned the second strike. Brother Grant makes the point that the men were out two hours before President Donnelly sanctioned their actions. That is true. President Donnelly did not act until he satisfied himself that the men were taking the right course, and then to his credit he did what any honest executive would have done, and not to sanction the second strike in face of the evidence at hand, would have been nothing short of criminal.

ALL MISTAKES MADE DURING THE
STRIKE WERE CAUSED BY THE AL-
LIED TRADES COUNCIL.

Now we come to the portion of Brother Grant's address where he blames the Allied Trades Council for all the mistakes made during the strike. He would not admit that even the least of the actions of the Council was not a mistake. But Brother Grant does not seem to have inside information as to how the Allied Trades Council was formed or what it was formed for. He charges that, instead of one executive managing the strike, the Allied Trades Council took matters in hand and instead of there being one head to the strike there were fifty, and they were running into one another. The truth of the matter is that the Council was formed at the suggestion of President Donnelly and was not executive in its sphere. It was advisory and assisted in managing the details. In picketing, relief, raising funds, strengthening weak points and in matters of that kind the Allied Trades Council did its share. President Donnelly would not make an important move without first consulting and getting the advice of the Council, and justly so because all the people involved in the strike were represented in the Council. It was their interests that were at stake and it was no more than right that they should be consulted on all important matters. The Council never tried to usurp the

authority of President Donnelly. When he asked their advice it was gladly given, and then he acted as he thought best. There is one thing that Brother Grant seems not to know, and that is that the Allied Trades Council never disagreed with Brother Donnelly on any proposition during the many weeks of the strike. Every proposition brought in by Brother Donnelly was agreed to and supported loyally by that body. They only disagreed with him once and that was on the Wednesday after Labor Day, Sept. 7th. President Donnelly brought in a proposition to declare the strike off. The proposition was voted down by every delegate present, except President Donnelly; he voted in favor of the motion and asked to be recorded as voting so. That was the first and only time that President Donnelly was not upheld by the Allied Trades Council. Then the Executive Board of the Butcher Workmen notified the Council that they would declare the strike off so far as they were concerned and in order to protect the interests of the skilled trades the Allied Trades Council passed a motion that they believed that Butcher Workmen would be justified in accepting the proposition of the Packers, and any one can see why that motion was passed.

As a matter of fact, Brother Grant cannot point out one action of the Allied Trades Council that won't bear the closest scrutiny and when weighed in the balance by men who understand conditions in the Stock Yards will be admitted to be the only Trade Union-like action to take.

TOO MUCH DEMOCRACY IN STRIKE
MANAGEMENT.

This answer could not be concluded unless we would express our sentiment on one point which Brother Grant makes by which he attempts to prove the reason why so many mistakes were made. He says the cause was too much Democracy, that too many minds were active in directing the strike. And this in America! Brother Grant would

have us proclaim that one head is better than two. For our part we will accept all the intelligence, all the knowledge, all the ability, and all the best minds among us in shaping and directing our course, and we hope to see the day in the Stock Yards when that Democracy which he complains of will not be exercised alone by a few elected officers.

We hope the day is not far distant when that Democracy will be spread broadcast among us. Then each individual will do his own thinking; then that Democracy will cause men to stand together for right and for the sake of human kind, and strikes will not be declared off on the flimsy plea of saving an organization.

Grand Rapids Votes "Go Ahead" in Water Conspiracy Prosecutions

By Delos F. Wilcox

EDITOR'S NOTE: Painstaking and trustworthy has been the prosecution of the men indicted for complicity in the "Water Deal" concerning which THE COMMONS for March published a statement laying bare with thoroughness the workings of that disgraceful piracy of "respectable citizens." The Civic Club of Grand Rapids has supported the fight against corruption, insisting that the officers who have so far conducted it shall be sustained in their struggle to bring to book all guilty of treason to their city. In this work Dr. Delos F. Wilcox, secretary of the Civic Club, an author of note and authority upon municipal affairs, has shown that his interest is far from being solely academic. In THE COMMONS for June, Dr. Wilcox said, "There is nothing in the general condition of municipal affairs in the United States to offer a crumb of comfort to any citizen who is not doing his level best for his own city."

His books on "The American City" and "The Municipal Program" attest his thorough study of the subjects and Grand Rapids has unhappily afforded a field for the practice of his precepts.

THE NEWSPAPERS.

No adequate account of the recent primary campaign in Grand Rapids and Kent County can be given without a brief description of the newspaper situation here. Grand Rapids supports three daily papers. The "Evening Press" is a penny paper owned by the Scripps interests of Detroit. It claims a circulation of about 44,000. Its general manager is Mr. Chas. S. Burch, one of the foremost men of the city in philanthropic and humanitarian movements. The "Press" is an independent Republican paper, and reaches the masses of the people. Under ordinary circumstances, this paper could be expected to give at least nominal support to any movement that appeared to be for the public good. At the same time, it is a money-making institution and has to be run with an eye to dividends. It would hardly be expected to publish the records of candidates for office or say

anything that would seriously affect the interests of the public service corporations.

The "Grand Rapids Herald" is a two cent morning paper. It is the leading partisan Republican paper of Western Michigan. Its circulation is said to be about 28,000. Congressman Wm. Alden Smith is president of the Herald company, but the owner of the controlling interest in the paper is Mr. Eugene D. Conger, former member of the United States Industrial Commission. Mr. Conger publishes the paper himself and is responsible for its business and editorial policy. The "Herald" is closely identified with the business interests of the city and Mr. Conger himself is very active in the "Board of Trade," which in Grand Rapids is the same as the Chamber of Commerce in many cities. Mr. Conger has also had the reputation of being almost a "boss" in local Republican politics.

The third paper, the "Evening Post," formerly the "Grand Rapids Democrat" is credited with about 17,000 circulation, and has for many years led a rather precarious existence. It is the regular Democratic organ and was at the time of the "Water Deal" the mouthpiece of Mr. Salsbury and the Perry administration. At that time Mr. J. Clark Sproat owned a controlling interest in the paper and was its editor and publisher. A couple of years ago, however, Mr. Sproat sold out his interest, and the control of the paper passed to Mr. Wm. F. McKnight, prominent attorney and leading Democratic politician. Mr. McKnight was once the Democratic candidate for attorney general of the state, and he carries the Kent County Democracy around in his pocket whenever the better class of Democrats go to sleep.

Grand Rapids is a city of 95,000 population. Kent County has 138,000 in all, so that more than two-thirds of all are in the city. On Sept. 13, of this year, direct primaries were held for the nomination of candidates for all county and legislative offices. This county is normally Republican, and consequently it is among the Republicans that there was a scramble for the nominations. In fact, a committee of the Democratic Club, appointed for the purpose, had some difficulty in getting even one man to stand for each office. The Democratic candidates were, therefore, as good as nominated when their names were filed with the county clerk ten days before the primaries.

THE SYSTEM OF PRIMARIES.

This was to be the first trial of the direct nominating system for county officers. Under the law all parties hold their primaries on the same day under regular election officers. Any legal voter is entitled to receive the party ballot that he calls for, but if he is commonly known to be a member of the opposite party he may be challenged, and in that case he must make oath that he intends to vote at the ensuing election with the party whose ticket he has called for at the primary. In practice

there are few challenges, and where Democrats have any object in calling for Republican primary ballots they are generally allowed to do so. As a matter of fact there were nearly 13,000 Republican votes and only about 500 Democratic votes cast at the September primaries. The Republican vote was something like 2,000 in excess of the total vote of that party at the election two years ago.

Under the primary law all candidates are required to file affidavits of their candidacy at least ten days before the date of the primary. Up to that time any voter has the privilege of entering the race for the nomination by his party for any local office to be filled at the election. A fee ranging from \$5.00 to \$15.00 is the only price of his ambition. The names of all candidates are printed on the official ballots without expense to them other than the fee just mentioned. The man who gets the largest vote, whether a majority or not, is nominated.

As a matter of fact there was strong competition among the Republicans for most of the offices, there being five candidates for county treasurer, five for sheriff, five for clerk and four for prosecuting attorney. All of these contests were lively, and in some, important issues were involved, but the bitterest fight of all was for prosecuting attorney. Mr. Wm. B. Brown, the present incumbent has held the office for two terms, and asked for a third on the plea that the water deal cases were not yet finished and that he should be retained to finish them. The third-term movement is contrary to the traditions of Kent County politics, but under the new system of making nominations two or three other officials besides Mr. Brown concluded to try for a third term. Mr. Brown is a lawyer of only moderate professional attainments, but he has had reasonable success in handling the ordinary criminal business of the county. As official advisor to his brother politicians he has been a rather "weak sister," having a soft spot in his heart for the politician office-holder class.

ATTORNEY WARD AND THE WATER DEAL
TRIALS.

For the prosecution of the water cases he has had the good sense to employ Mr. Chas. E. Ward, his law partner, an able and experienced attorney who has won the confidence of the people by his careful and fearless conduct of the prosecutions. It is no small matter for a prosecuting officer to keep his nerve and be resolute in the face of such a complex situation as is presented in Grand Rapids now. The defendants in the water cases are a Big Bunch in politics, in business, and to a certain extent, socially. A Detroit newspaper man said to me during one of the trials last spring: "The people of Kent County don't appreciate what they've got in that man Ward. He's a wonder." Still, some of them did. One man said: "The work he has done is equal to any of Folk's."

On the other hand there was a lot of complaining among the people because the cases were not being disposed of more rapidly, because the prosecution had been so expensive and because the reputation of the town was being ruined. There was a general weakening of the support given to the prosecution by the business community. The friends of the indicted men were talking, and many citizens who believed all the accused to be guilty nevertheless thought they couldn't be convicted and the disgrace they had suffered was punishment enough. Just a little slackening of the vigor and vigilance of the prosecution would bring the people's cases to an inglorious end and let the men whom the people believed to be guilty go free. Already one jury which had been left at large during the trial had acquitted a man to the great astonishment of the public who had followed the reports of the testimony published in newspapers friendly to the defense. Another jury had disagreed. Still Assistant Prosecuting Attorney Ward stood firm, an omen of evil to those awaiting trial. To get rid of Ward would be a promise of freedom to the

indicted men. But Ward, for personal reasons, would not himself make the race for prosecutor. And so the issue had to be met indirectly, and the question came to be how the various candidates stood on retaining Mr. Ward to conduct the water deal cases.

NEWSPAPERS INVOLVED.

Primary reform without an untrammeled newspaper is a doubtful proposition under any circumstances. How much more doubtful here in Grand Rapids! "The town is bottled up," as President Hyde of the Civic Club puts it. Mr. Burch of the "Evening Press" is awaiting trial for conspiracy, on the charge of having received \$5,000 of the water deal money from Salsbury four years ago. Mr. Conger of the "Herald" is awaiting his second trial on the charge of having received \$10,000 from the same source. Mr. Sproat, formerly of the "Democrat," owned up on the stand to having received in the neighborhood of \$17,000 of this money. His successor in the control of that paper, Mr. McKnight, is now awaiting trial for attempted subornation of perjury in the defense of Salsbury three years ago. And it is upon the newspapers controlled by these men that the people of Grand Rapids have to depend for their knowledge of all municipal affairs, to say nothing of the evidence in the water cases themselves and the records of candidates for office. The situation from the standpoint of the people is almost equally bad whether these newspaper men are innocent or guilty—it is simply intolerable.

PLOT TO SHELVE WARD.

Early in July the rumor came to the officers of the Civic Club that Mr. John S. McDonald was to be given the Republican nomination for prosecuting attorney if the plans of the indicted men and their friends did not fail, with the understanding that he would drop Mr. Ward, if elected. Mr. McDonald had been one of the attorneys for Salsbury in his trial for bribery three years ago. Aside from this and certain rather doubtful political associations, Mr. Mc-

Donald bore an excellent reputation, and for character and ability taken together would have been picked out as the best qualified of the four candidates for prosecuting attorney. But when the Secretary of the Civic Club interviewed him as to whether he would retain Mr. Ward or vigorously prosecute the water cases, he declined to make any pledges or any public statement in the matter, and said that he was "in politics" and wanted to get the votes of the people who were opposed to Mr. Brown, including the men awaiting trial and their friends. He denied having any agreement with these men however. His account of himself was very unsatisfactory to the men who were anxious to see Mr. Ward retained in the water cases.

"LIVE ISSUES."

Between forty and fifty such citizens clubbed together and subscribed a fund for the publication of a special political newspaper during the primary campaign. The Civic Club assumed responsibility for the paper which was published under the title "Live Issues in Kent County." This paper in its first number gave a summary of the evidence in the Conger trial, reviewed the history of the water cases, and attacked Mr. McDonald's candidacy for prosecutor both on the ground that having been attorney for Salsbury and some of the other defendants who had pleaded guilty he could not consistently change sides and prosecute the cases involving the same facts, and on the ground that his refusal to make any public statement of his policy in the matter rendered him unfit for the office. The Civic Club asked all the candidates for prosecutor whether they thought the remaining water cases should be vigorously prosecuted and whether they thought Mr. Ward should be retained. All the candidates except Mr. McDonald answered both these questions in the affirmative, but McDonald refused to answer them. "Live Issues" continued to press the main issue and urge McDonald's defeat. He took up the cudgels and bitterly at-

tacked the officers of the Civic Club in his speeches. All of the daily papers opened their columns for lengthy reports of his attacks, and finally Mr. Burch, of the "Evening Press," assailed the Club in his editorial columns. In all the campaign the attacks on the Civic Club were aimed directly at President Hyde and Secretary Wilcox. A defense of the latter written by a prominent lawyer of the city was kept by Mr. Burch until after the primaries, and later published. The same article was refused by the "Evening Post" also, before the primaries. The "Herald" refused to give or sell an inch of space to Prosecuting Attorney Brown in which to answer McDonald's charges against him. But the Civic Club kept putting forth "Live Issues." Five numbers and an aggregate of over 70,000 copies were distributed about the city and county. The paper did not confine itself to the water deal question and the prosecuting attorney fight, but exposed abuses in the sheriff's office, and put candidates for most of the offices on record.

THE OUTCOME.

Toward the end of the campaign the main issue came to be McDonald against the Civic Club. He appealed to the voters to say to the Civic Club: "Go away back and sit down; there is no place for you in American politics!" McDonald was beaten; and Brown was renominated by a safe though small plurality in both city and townships.

On the Democratic side, Mr. Jesse F. Orton, a prominent young attorney who had served for two years on the executive committee of the Civic Club, was nominated. The primaries left the friends of the prosecutions in undisputed possession of the field. Both candidates can be trusted on the question of prosecuting the water deal cases.

The results were not so good on all of the other offices, but on the whole the friends of better government have reason to feel encouraged. What Grand Rapids needs most is a newspaper.

The Fight for Subsistence at Fall River

By Anne Withington

The casual visitor at Fall River finds the outer aspect of things in the mill town surprisingly cheerful and devoid of spectacular interest. The clamming parties, the berrying parties, the crowded trolleys, lend an almost festive air and the gay little gardens about some of the houses of operatives betray no hint of the life and death struggle in which these same operatives are enlisted—for it is nothing less than that—this bloodless battle; no violence, no vain boasting, no threats of vengeance, but a deep conviction in the minds of all who toil within the mill walls and of those dependent on that toil, that a compulsory gift of 12½ per cent of their wages to the owners would mean a drop below the life line for them. "We may as well starve outside the mills as inside," say they—unionists and non-unionists alike—and starvation is no figure of speech as one can too readily see by visiting the daily bestowing of food upon more than a thousand little children through the Salvation Army. As one watches these babies devour their soup, and—a more pitiful sight—carefully pour some of it into pail or pan for some one at home, one wonders what iota of good dividends got at such a price can bring.

This is no leaders' strike. The movement was a spontaneous and democratic one. One cut down has followed another in quick succession. First came a ten per cent reduction last fall; then weavers were forced to run twelve looms in place of ten or ten in place of eight, and they insist that thereby a virtual reduction was achieved because the physical strain is such that the output per operative is actually reduced. Girls who run ten looms sometimes require three days out of a week to recoup their exhausted bodies.

The leaders flout the contention that wages were reduced to meet southern competition. Indeed the public has come to share their conviction that this bogey of competition in the South,

is but another form of the resistance of the northern mill owner to modern factory legislation. There is by no means unanimity of opinion among New England mill owners. The president of their association in his annual address showed himself an ardent believer in the living wage as a requisite for the public welfare and side by side with the silent mills in Fall River today, stand the factories of the one "independent" where the workers are still earning their old wage.

The truth is rather more elusive than usual in this contest, but one or two facts loom clearly through the befogged discussion. The first is that a virtual trust exists, made up of the majority of owners of stock; and this ring, which is a species of nepotism, regardless of the wishes of individual stock-owners, can dictate to any dissenting official whether or no his mill shall make cloth. No president, no treasurer, can decide for himself, so entangled are the affairs of the mill, the money-lending banks and even the domestic relationships of mill officials. The leaders assert that this last complication has involved the continuance of incompetent managers in office with the inevitable result of a poor financial showing in such instances.

The second fact is that against this combination is lined up the whole body of workers, unionists and non-unionists. There is no question of open shop involved. The non-unionists receive help regularly from the union's treasuries. In truth the most cheering remembrance one brings away from the stricken city is one of the feeling of fellowship which exists among these English, Irish, French, Polish, Portuguese and American toilers. And here again we see what has been so often declared by its friends, that the trades union is practically doing what no other agency, not even the church attempts, the inculcating of ideals of solidarity in welfare. There is

no higher type of trade union leaders in America today than these Fall River men. One recalls in talking with them that most of them have the best traditions of one of the earliest of the organized trades in England, but too many of their following look upon the union as a kind of mutual benefit society only of use in time of need. The importance of a campaign of education among the women operatives is evident. As in most other trades the work of women is being used to displace that of men. The Women's Trades Union League is making direct contribution to the cause of the strikers by securing domestic service

positions for the younger women of the mills who can thus temporarily, at least, withdraw from the field.

One of the most suggestive things I saw in Fall River was a confirmation of my belief that there can be no industrial security for the landless workingman. The unskilled Portuguese were really relatively far better off than their higher paid neighbors because they had not forsaken the agricultural pursuits of their ancestors. Their little plots of land hired outside the town were keeping them alive and I would that every union man would follow their intelligent custom. He would be better equipped for his next industrial war if he would.

Chicago Still "Fighting On"

Chicago's choice collection of scalawags, thieves and dead beats, the old "gray wolves" who formerly made up 58 out of the 68 members of the city council, whose infamy brought scorn and derision upon the name of the city, and whose outrageous cupidity inflicted grievous injury and untold cost to the welfare of the whole people and to each individual, have for the most part been forced to relinquish their strangle hold. The story of their ousting from the city's hall of legislation, after years of persistent effort by the Municipal Voter's League, and through the patriotic independence of the electorate, is familiar to most of the readers of *THE COMMONS*.

Not a few of these defeated tricksters have left town. It has not, however, been a case of "leaving their city for their city's good." Their trail has led to the state capital. Humiliating enough it was to have them in our midst, but at least it was the citizens who were responsible for their power that had to endure their malignant presence. Under the present conditions their effrontery is exhibited and has become a menace to the people

of the whole state. Little wonder that Illinois has felt that it had next to nothing in common with Chicago! Among the up-state legislators are many whose villainous schemes were part and parcel of the legislative brigandage that has so beset Chicago, whose intrigues have included the worst of Chicago's representatives, and who have been "counted in" when their help was needed by the latter to carry out some piece of rascality, but the better men in the legislature came almost exclusively from the region outside of Chicago. The great city sent scarcely a man entitled to the respect of an honest citizen.

Chicago is hot on their trail. They may have abandoned their losing fight against the popular uprising in the city with the notion that down at Springfield a safe distance would separate them from the wrath which drove them out of the council. Perhaps they feel themselves beyond the searching vigilance that laid bare their city records. They will find themselves mistaken. The warfare is following close upon their heels. Chicago would rather put up with their odious but impotent presence at home than indulge itself in their absence from the city if their departure

takes them to a place where they can do the city harm.

Vigorous in leading the crusade against these "honorable" is the Legislative Voter's League, which has adopted the same methods of making records public, recommending good candidates and working aggressively to elect them, that Chicago's Municipal Voter's League has so successfully pursued. The former seeks to accomplish in Chicago's legislative representation what the latter has done for the City Council. And the crusade is no spasmodic effort; like that of the Municipal Voter's League it never sleeps; between elections as well as at elections it is ever alert and fighting for every inch.

The situation in the present campaign to put it in a nut-shell, is shown by the fact that with 57 members of the lower house to be elected from Chicago's 19 districts, the republicans and democrats together have nominated only 59 men. In other words, the bosses of the two old parties have fixed things so, that barring the contingency of the election of minor party candidates or independents, only two of all the republican and democratic candidates can possibly lose. Will anyone ask more convincing evidence of deals and dickerings between the old party bosses?

To combat this brazen scheme of the bosses, the Legislative Voters' League is aggressively supporting one of the minor candidates or an independent in each of the 17 districts where the old party managers have "fixed" the thing to their mutual advantage.

A typical state of affairs is to be found in the 21st senatorial district, comprising three wards, one being the 17th, in which Chicago Commons is situated. For the three places to be filled the republicans nominated two men and the democrats one. The district, although republican, has enough democratic votes to make the republicans believe that the democrats can elect one candidate if every democrat lumps his three votes upon that man. It may be stated, for the benefit of those not conversant with the situation, that

Illinois in her legislative elections has put into practice that scheme of encouraging minority representation which gives to each voter three votes. These he may divide among the candidates, or place all on one. By adopting the latter alternative a party or group hopelessly in the minority may frequently secure the election of one man where there are three offices to be filled. Under these circumstances it is easy to see the advantage to the bosses of the two old parties in making the allotment of nominations above described.

Two years ago in the 21st district an independent candidate was elected over the joint opposition of both party managements. It was a strenuous campaign and in doubt until the last minute. But the balance of power held by the Seventeenth Ward Community Club, a body of independent minded citizens, with headquarters at Chicago Commons, together with other like organizations in the district, won out in the seventeenth ward and so carried the election which turned upon the vote in that ward.

This year it is of great importance that men should be sent to Springfield who will vote and work for a new charter and for a Direct Primary Law. Chicago sadly needs both, and she is determined to get them. The democrats, presumably by collusion with the republicans, nominated only one man, "Benny" Mitchell, as he is "affectionately known among the men whom he has elevated to positions on the street car lines." The report of the Legislative Voter's League says of him: "Previous record long and bad, but he has gone a great way toward fulfilling his pledge to make a good record during the last session." "In fact," says the *Chicago Tribune*, "Mitchell may be said to be making a fight as a reform candidate on the platform that reform begins at home. His election is conceded.... There are enough straight democrats in the 21st district to send him to Springfield."

Of the two republican nominees the record of one, Erickson, has not a single mitigating feature to relieve its

monotony of viciousness. His presence at Springfield and his every vote have been an insult to the people of this city. While introducing the most brazen of "hold up" legislation, in which he has deceived no one by the bills "to regulate" various monopolies, his influence has consistently been with those who have no interest in Chicago except to plunder her. His nomination in the teeth of popular protest, and against the majority vote of the delegation from his own ward in the convention, shows the defiance which the bosses have flung at the people's will. His outrageous betrayal of trust was instanced in the republican state convention. The primaries had instructed him explicitly to vote for Charles S. Deneen, whose strenuous fight against the "system" has been described by Lincoln Steffens, as the nominee for governor; disregarding these instructions from the first, he steadily gave his vote to another man. Such is the way that Erickson "represents" his constituents.

The candidacy of the other, Troyer, while unexceptionable, should in no way be allowed to interfere with the election of the independent candidate nominated expressly to defeat Erickson.

A three times president of the Seventeenth Ward Community Club, Walter Elphinstone, is that independent candidate. Here is his ringing platform:

I believe:

1. In citizenship and not partisanship.
2. That the use of public office for private gain is *treason*.
3. That a free state is entitled to the unselfish fidelity of every free man; and that the war for civic honesty demands the enlistment of *all patriots*.

A thorough, well organized campaign is in progress which will leave no stone unturned to elect Elphinstone and rebuke the man whose pernicious and flagrant abuse of his commission from the people has long escaped the summary treatment it deserved. It will be a public calamity if national policies or personal preferences for presidential

candidates are allowed to confuse the local issues which so sorely need attention. "Independent voting for legislative candidates is now as essential to the most vital interests of both city and state as it ever has been in municipal elections," said the editor of *THE COMMONS* in one of his weekly contributions to the editorial page of *The Chicago Daily News*. And going on to comment upon the situation he declared, "All that is needed is a straight appeal to the intelligence and civic patriotism of our citizens. They can be depended upon to do the rest. For the citizens of Chicago, irrespective of parties, are tired enough of having its great interests made a football—or worse, the spoils—of factional state politics to be at the striking point. And all Illinois is disgusted enough with the type of men with whose vulgar venality Chicago has disgraced the state legislature to join with decent representatives in giving us the new charter we need and to all its citizens the right to nominate, as well as elect, candidates of their own choice."

What is true of the situation in the 21st senatorial district is also true in many another throughout Chicago. The very men who were turned out in disgrace from the city council have comfortably seated themselves as the people's representatives in the state legislature. There ought to be no resting by the citizens until these precious "servants" of the people are once more put to rout.

G. R. T.

The Seventh Iowa State Conference of Charities and Correction will bring together a representative gathering of the different classes of workers interested. Among those upon the program we note Prof. Isaac A. Loos, of the State University of Iowa, Judge George W. Wakefield, discussing "The Juvenile Court Act and Juvenile Courts," and Miss Flora Dunlap, Head Resident of Roadside House, Des Moines, who will speak for "Social Settlements."

No less than 2,149,194 bottles of pasteurized milk were distributed during the past summer in New York by the Nathan Straus pasteurized milk depots. More than 800,000 glasses were drunk from the depots in the parks and on the recreation piers.

Notes and Articles of Social and Industrial Interest

French Government Sends Workingmen to Visit America

As at the time of the Centennial Exposition and again at the Chicago World's Fair, the French Government sent to the St. Louis Exposition a delegation of workingmen representing the workmen's productive and co-operative societies of France. Under the leadership of Professor Metin, of the University of Paris, the only one in the party conversant with the English language, a group of fourteen have spent several weeks in this country, and are now on their way back via Canada. Among them are workmen from the following trades: painters and decorators, five different sorts of engineers, musical instrument makers, textile workers, shoemakers, employees of the postal and telegraph, and also of the railway service. All of them are socialists, as indeed the French trade union and trade society movements are practically co-extensive with the socialist party in France. But it was as workmen and members of the societies that the Government commissioned them. They are to report officially to the Government upon their return. The report will be published.

No less than eighty of these workmen co-operative and productive associations are taking part in the St. Louis exposition. They are thorough believers in educational schemes and maintain in France manual training schools and other institutions for the purpose of bettering their condition. Their political action takes expression in the Socialist Party, but actual co-operative production has been started and kept up in some cases now for several years, with remarkable success. The house painters and decorators association, for example, controls absolutely the work of that trade in the city of Paris. All that is done is through the

workmen of that organization, and orders are placed directly with the officers and business representatives of the men themselves. The "boss" has been entirely eliminated.

After arriving in this country the delegation was received by President Roosevelt, and the itinerary has included New York, Philadelphia, Washington, Pittsburg, St. Louis, Dayton, Ohio, where the National Cash Register works were examined, Chicago, Montreal, Quebec, and Boston, from which latter point they will depart. While in Chicago the party attended the meeting at Hull House, at which the Stock Yards Strike was discussed in retrospect by Miss Mary McDowell, Mr. Luke Grant, and President Donnelly of the Butcher Workmen. After the meeting an informal conference was held with many of the trade union leaders and social settlement people of Chicago who were in attendance.

Plans of the National Child Labor Committee

With the services of two experienced observers and investigators, and under the expert direction of its exceptionally capable secretary, together with the personal interest and attention of its acting chairman, Mr. Homer Folks, the National Child Labor Committee is starting in on what will undoubtedly prove to be a year of the most valuable service. Dr. Samuel M. Lindsay, who has resigned his work as Commissioner of Education for Porto Rico, to accept the secretaryship of this committee, reports that much preliminary work has been accomplished since the organization of the committee last summer. Permanent headquarters have been established in the United Charities Building, New York; an extensive bibliography on the subject of child labor has been collected; correspondence has been opened

with organizations and people interested in child labor reform throughout the country; and the committee is now ready to co-operate with any local movement for the improvement of child labor conditions.

The two assistant secretaries appointed are A. J. McKelway of Charlotte, N. C., for special work in the southern states, and Owen R. Lovejoy of Mt. Vernon, N. Y., for special work in the north. Mr. McKelway has for some years been one of the most effective journalists of the south, having a large knowledge of affairs and a large acquaintance throughout the southern states. He has been for some time editor of the *Daily News*, Charlotte, N. C., and also editor of the *Presbyterian Standard*.

Mr. Lovejoy was for six years pastor of the First Congregational Church of Mt. Vernon. During the Anthracite Coal Strike he was sent by the citizens of Mt. Vernon to make an investigation of the conditions in the strike region. He spent the summer just passed in a preliminary investigation of conditions in the mining, textile and other industries of Pennsylvania and New Jersey. It was conducted for the purpose of gaining a general impression of conditions, and to test various methods of gathering information, rather than for the collection of specific data. He was, however, able to make a somewhat thorough examination of conditions in several localities, and his report contains a study of the operation of the child labor law in both these states, with suggestions as to needed amendments and possible plans for the proper enforcement of the law.

"Child Labor and the Law" is the title under which in the October magazine number of *Charities*, Mr. Homer Folks discusses at length the problems before the committee and the scope of its work so far as legislation is concerned. The effective co-operation of all the widely scattered members of the committee will go a long way in his estimation to get around the difficulties arising from the large number of separate states which have so far been disposed to act independently of each other upon a matter which demands unity of action throughout the nation. He sees a hopeful attempt to formulate a national program in the resolutions adopted by the General Federation of Women's Clubs at its convention held last May in St. Louis. The relation of compulsory education laws to child labor legislation is touched upon and Mr. Folks emphatically says that, although they should be adjusted one to the other, the compulsory attendance laws should follow rather than precede.

He points out that the cause of uniform legislation will best be served not by trying to make the law for each state meet special

conditions existing in that state, but by formulating a broad law with reference to the degree of development which *all* children must attain before they can be expected to perform steady labor without injury to their physical and mental development. Upon this line the movement will be "broader, sounder, more comprehensive in form, in proceeding, not against particular employers in certain localities, but for the purpose of securing a minimum of protection for all children in all parts of the country. Without attempting to count the numbers or forecast the location of the prospective opponents, their fire will be developed soon enough; the friends of protective legislation may be the stronger if they do not seem to be the attacking party."

Farm Camps for Delinquent Boys

The Denver Juvenile Court, under the direction of its progressive Judge Lindsey, has tried with success the experiment of sending delinquent boys out to work in the beet fields which are contributory to the Colorado sugar industry. An interesting description of the workings of the scheme is to be found in a recent number of the *Juvenile Court Record*.

Summer before last a group was sent out and placed under the authority only of the farmer for whom they worked. This plan did not work well owing to the fact that the farmer had no legal right to enforce his commands. The "gang" played and scrapped most of the time in the fields and eventually had to be discharged. This year, however, the boys were sent out in groups of 10 to 20 each in charge of a capable man, vested by the court with full authority as a probation officer. A regular camp is conducted with a firm but reasonable discipline, which however, does not prevent the officer from treating the boys kindly. Provision for recreation after the day's work included games after supper until dark which usually found all the young workers sound asleep.

"Two men cooks were sent with the Greeley camp. These cooks furnished all cooking utensils, supplies and food and were reimbursed by each boy paying \$3 a week to them for board. The cooks became careless and began to cut down the table supplies. The boys called a meeting, with Mr. Withers as chairman, to discuss the state of affairs. They estimated that their board was costing each at the rate of 44 cents a day. One of the boys offered to do the cooking provided he was given credit for the time spent in doing it. His offer was accepted

and the cooks were dismissed. Since then the boys have been "baching," each taking turn preparing vegetables and washing dishes. They have kept a careful account of their expenditures and find that the daily board of each amounts to 23 cents, this included paying Mrs. Rogers, a neighbor, for baking their bread."

Officer Withers has handled as many as 300 boys at a time in the fruit packing business. A contract is made with the officer in charge, and to him the employer pays the earnings of the camp. As soon as the contract is finished the officer apportions the wages equally among the boys.

The Peace Congress Delegates in New York

A New York Committee entertained the Peace Congress delegates after their meetings in Boston with a three-day program in New York. The delegates arrived on Monday night, Oct. 10, and a reception was held in their honor at the Park Avenue Hotel. On Tuesday morning visits were made to the lower east side to see settlements, playgrounds and public schools. At 12:30 a luncheon was tendered the Congress by the

Board of Trade at the New Astor. Addresses were made by Mr. Oscar Strauss, President of the Board of Trade, by Mayor McClellan, by the Baroness von Suttner, Dr. Yamei Kim of China and others.

The party was then automobile through the Park and to Teachers' College where Miss Dodge gave a tea at which the delegates met President Sutter of Columbia and various numbers of the faculty. In the evening a meeting was held at the Ethical Society's new building and addresses were made by Mr. Herbert Burrows, Prof. Quiddle of Munich, Signor Moulta, and Dr. Felix Adler and others. On Wednesday the Monmouth chartered for the purpose took the delegates up the Hudson to Dobbs Ferry where a luncheon was given by Mrs. Henry Villard at Thorwood. In the evening a mass meeting was held at Cooper Union. Among the speakers was Mr. Pete Curran, the well known English trade unionist now running for Parliament.

Thursday morning the Commissioner of Health took the delegates to Ellis Island and from there the boat visited Blackwell's Island and luncheon was served at North Brother Island. Various meetings were held in schools and elsewhere during the stay of the delegates in the interests of international peace.

"The Problem of the Children and How Colorado Cares for Them"

A Review by Mrs. Florence Kelley

It is impossible to overstate the value to the children of this Nation of the report of the Juvenile Court of Denver, issued under the title "The Problem of the Children and How the State of Colorado cares for Them." In the brief space of 222 pages Judge Lindsey has condensed the theory and practice of the most progressive court dealing with juvenile offenders. The circumstance which makes that court, like its report, of unique and immeasurable value to the Nation's children, is its embodying a new and saving principle.

Never before has a state enacted, in so many words, the principle that he who contributes to the delinquency of a child is himself a delinquent, and is to be punished. Never before has a judge been in a position in which that principle could be brought home to *all* the people who tempt children.

The juvenile court in Denver is not merely a place in which punishment is meted out to children who have broken the law and must expiate an offence against the community. First and last and always it is a place where citizens are assured of their rights. And what right of childhood is more sacred than

the right to freedom from being tempted by older persons?

In thousands of communities, for generations past, cigarette dealers, barkeepers, junk-dealers, men who conduct low theatres, telegraph operators sending boys to infamous places to deliver messages, one and all have profited by tempting children. And when the children have become offenders, they and not their tempters have had to pay the penalty. In Denver these adult tempters are now held to the strictest accountability for every child who finds his way to the juvenile court through any participation of theirs.

RESPONSIBILITY OF "ADULT DELINQUENTS."

It was a long step forward when the principle was recognized in the truancy laws of several states that the parents are accountable for the actions of their children. But there was bitter hardship involved in holding a widowed mother responsible for the offenses of a wayward boy who succumbed to temptations from which she would gladly have shielded him, had that been in her power, while the man who tempted the boy for sordid gain went free. That hardship is re-

moved by the wise provision of the Colorado law which holds not alone the child and the parents responsible, but *every* person who contributes to the delinquency of a child.

Of negligent parents Judge Lindsey says: "A warning and notice to the parents by the probation officers of their responsibility to correct the child in the home is effective in a great many cases, without further action."

Of the sordid tempters of boys the author says: "We have sent men to jail for selling cigarettes or liquor to boys under this law. We have imposed heavy fines upon a great many men, but in many such cases we have placed the parents and the citizens upon probation, as well as the children. They have reported and, in doing so, have become friends and co-workers of the court. Some of the best friends we have, who have helped us most to stop the selling of liquor to boys in certain neighborhoods, have been saloon-keepers and bar-keepers who had originally violated the law, but who had really never stopped to think what they were doing and did not really intend to harm the child. There are big-hearted men in this class, and more success can sometimes be gained, in proper cases, by getting them to fight with you instead of against you. I know an intelligent liquor dealer who told me in open court that he never realized how crime commenced and how it spread, and what his responsibility was for the boy whom he wanted to arrest for stealing; that he had his first lesson in the Juvenile Court and he stood ready to help punish any man who would sell a child liquor.

"After the enactment of the Adult Delinquent Law, we notified the various telegraph and messenger companies that boys under 16 on duty, going to saloons, gambling houses and other evil resorts (the mere visiting or entering of which placed them in the class known as delinquents) would be prosecuted. The managers of the Western Union, the Postal and the A. D. T. with their counsel, held a consultation with the Judge of the Juvenile Court and after the law became effective agreed to obey it in letter and spirit and promised that, for the evening and night service, no boy under 16 should be employed, and that boys under 16 upon day service would not be called upon to answer calls to any of the places mentioned. So far they have obeyed the law.

"I believe a most fruitful cause of weakness and waywardness is the messenger service in cities. Boys are sent to places where they see men violating the laws, engaged in immorality, and they soon become callous and indifferent, their conscience ceases to respond to nobler things, and because men do these things, why not boys? The fact that the boy sees men or women engaged in those things which we would caution him against makes it more difficult to bring him through the period of adolescence to a clean, decent and wholesome manhood. I am perfectly

aware that some of our best men have gone through the fire of these things in boyhood, but they are the exception rather than the rule. They have become good men, not because of such environment, but in spite of it — because in their lives the good overcame the evil. Thousands of these children, not so fortunate, go down to destruction every year in the cities of this nation. I know that most messenger boys, as well as newsboys, in cities are (compared with what their child life should be, and what any decent parent would want it to be) impure and unclean. I have listened to their talk in the alleys and about the newspaper offices. They have confided to me the very worst side of their lives, and I know whereof I speak. It is no discredit to the boys. The discredit is to those who are responsible for them during the sacred period of adolescence. Their weakness, if it be such, is rather misfortune than crime. No responsible father or mother would want their boy or girl brought up in a home where there is swearing, drinking, licentiousness, deception and fraud all around them, yet this is the environment and the life into which thousands of our city boys are thrust every year, largely because of their work on the streets."

RADICAL EFFECT OF THE LAW.

What a revolution will be wrought in the lives of the children of Chicago when this principle of the responsibility of adults is fully adopted by the legislature of Illinois and fully applied by the Juvenile Court of Chicago! Then the conductor who permits children to steal rides on the coal train, will be as sternly punished as the father or mother who encourages a boy or girl to gather coal on the railroad tracks. The bar-keeper who sells beer to a child will go to court with the mother who sends a child to "rush the growler;" and the telegraph operator who sends a boy or girl to deliver a message at the door of a disreputable resort will be in danger of a heavy penalty. The Juvenile Court will then be even more completely a place for the protection and help as well as the correction of offending children.

Instead of being crowded with children, the Juvenile Court should really be filled with the adults who are the sources of their troubles; and the institutions for children might, in many cases, give place to institutions for the correction of adults. But both will probably be greatly diminished when the profits which now accrue from the debauching of children are transformed into the payment of heavy money penalties by the sordid men and women whom we have been all too slow to hold responsible for the gravest of offenses, the soiling of the souls of children.

One of the most cheering aspects of Judge Lindsey's work is the help derived for the Court from the children themselves. "In one

year the boys brought to the Juvenile Court by officers for offenses have themselves not only been successfully corrected, but in addition thereto have become helpers to smash *causes*. They have, for instance, prosecuted, convicted and sent to jail through the Juvenile Court more men for violating such laws for the protection of children as those forbidding the sale of cigarettes, tobacco, and liquor, immoral literature, dangerous firearms etc. and for permitting children to enter saloons and immoral places, than have all the combined forces of the sheriff's and police departments in all the courts in any ten years in Denver's history."

"The court is now conducted under an elaborate set of laws prepared November 1902, and passed by the Legislature in January 1903. With the exception of the substitution of the detention school for the jail and the law holding parents, *and all other citizens*, to a rigid liability for any faults of children to which they may contribute, no other substantial changes have been made in the juvenile laws of Colorado. The administrative work has always been of infinitely more importance than the statutes."

"Out of more than two thousand cases against both parents and children brought to the Juvenile Court in more than three years, in only two cases have lawyers ever appeared to defend, and no exceptions have ever been taken to the disposition of any case, although several hundred parents and others have been fined or sent to jail and a considerable number of children have been committed to institutions. Among these have been children and parents of very wealthy families as well as very poor people."

FUTURE CITIZENSHIP CONCERNED.

"The state is simply devising methods of dealing with its wards not as criminals but as misguided and misdirected; as those who might become criminals some day, but in childhood are not yet responsible, and still in the formative period; and as needing care, help and cherishing of the State rather

than punishment. The state deals, in other words, with the morals of the child, on much the same basis that it would with the financial welfare of a minor, who is not considered sufficiently responsible to handle his dollars or dispose of his property until he arrives at the age of twenty one years. Surely if the state can distinguish between individuals under twenty-one in dealing with their property and money, regarding them as entitled to different treatment and a different application of rules and laws than adults, there is more reason why a different course should be pursued by the State when it comes to the question of the moral welfare of its children. The value of the future citizen to the state depends a great deal more upon how well and how carefully his morals are guarded than how wisely his money is spent."

It is one thing to place an excellent statute for the punishment of adult offenders and the safeguarding of children upon the statute book, and an entirely different thing to enforce that statute without being retired from office by the influence of the offenders who may be politicians and are almost always voters. How then is it to be accounted for that Judge Lindsey is continued in office? He was renominated in May 1904 for Judge of the County and Juvenile Court by every political convention (seven in all) but the Socialists. At the election he received all the 56,000 votes cast, except less than one thousand cast for the Socialist candidate.

When the corrupt democratic machine proposed not to nominate Judge Lindsey, the women of Denver notified the democratic politicians that it was their intention to have him re-elected. The democratic politicians were finally convinced that the women of Denver were united on this point; and the nomination was made. After that, it was the best of politics for all the other parties to endorse the nomination. It is to the voting women of Denver that the children owe the presence on the bench of that wise and tender friend of tempted childhood.

College Settlement Association

Myrta L. Jones, Editor

The Octavia Hill Association, Philadelphia

By Hannah Fox

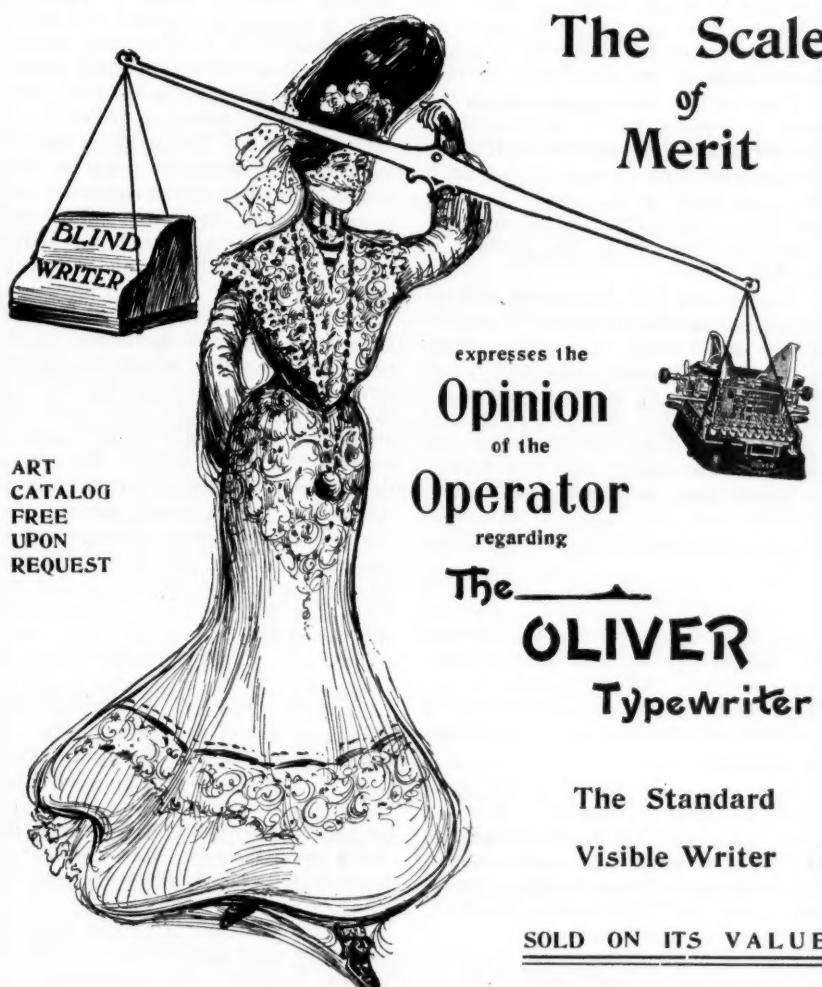
PHILANTHROPY AND PERCENTAGE.

The housing of the poor as a matter of philanthropy and expediency admits of no discussion, but the method

for accomplishing the greatest benefits is a subject worthy of careful study.

The point of attack varies much in the different cities and is governed by their populations, their land area and the buildings already in use for dwellings of the poor and working classes.

In Philadelphia most of the poor and very poor live in houses built for



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private homes, which have degenerated into composite dwellings sheltering from three to six families, while the workman who can pay from 10 to 15 dollars a month for rent lives in a one family house.

There is but little menace from the large tenements, but it is from these smaller adapted houses, in which our foreign populations center, that sanitary and social evils chiefly emanate, and where restriction and supervision, either from the city or the landlord, is needed.

The Octavia Hill Association was incorporated in 1896 as a stock company to own and manage, on a paying basis, in a more personal way such small houses as it should purchase, and to act as agent for other owners, combining agent and friendly visitors in its rent collectors who should visit each family, at stated times, in their rooms to collect the rent due, and by their visit become acquainted with the family as a unit.

BUSINESS BASIS.

The Association owns only 35 houses, the largest of which accommodates but 4 families. All of its stock has not been taken as it is only sold in small amounts, in order that more people may be interested.

It acts as agent for 18 people, managing for them 59 houses. Many of these are larger than those belonging to the Association, several accommodating from ten to fifteen families, one being a very well built modern tenement, accommodating 33 families.

Four and a half per cent dividends have been paid during seven years on association stock, and a small reserve fund put aside. The agency properties vary in their returns from 3 per cent to 8 per cent.

The work was begun in the section of the city which is the center of negro immigration sheltering the lowest elements of this race in such numbers that it is hard for those with better aspirations to live up to their own higher standards, and seeming to offer no incentive for them to rise above them.

Most of the Association's property is still in this district, and it is the hardest district in which it works, as there is so much to contend with in the low standard of comfort and decency represented by the neighboring properties, over which there is but little oversight, by either owner or police.

One phase of the work of the Octavia Hill Association may be illustrated by a court which contained nine houses opening on a well-lighted and well ventilated court, as it has been a typical and difficult one and one with gratifying results.

There was a common yard with toilet apparatus in the center of the row, and the only hydrant was at the street end; reconstruction was impossible but radical repairs were made, including the demolition of one house to increase the yard space. For more than a year the financial returns from this court were unsatisfactory and there was continued disappointment caused by the fact that respectable people shunned the court and would not apply for rooms while disreputable ones continued to come and were sometimes given a house through error, only to cause trouble and be warned out. The tone was raised gradually and now it is a paying property, requiring very little oversight. This, however, was not accomplished until the group of rear houses—a blind alley, or pocket, whose nearest egress to the street was through the court—was bought and placed under the association's charge.

Small blocks of properties such as these are most satisfactory to control, because *esprit de corps* is awakened and the influence on the neighborhood is stronger; but reforms are only accomplished by continual watchfulness and *work*, on the part of the collector who must be on the alert to detect wrong and prompt to punish it.

When an evil is detected which does not annoy the neighbors it is the Association's policy to bear with it for a time while trying to overcome it, and if no desire for better living is evidenced, it is felt best to have the tenants leave,

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EDWARD T. DEVINE, Ph. D., Editor

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BUSINESS AND FRIENDSHIP.

The work is conducted first on business principles, prompt fulfillment of the duties of tenants in payment of rent, and of those of the landlord in regard to repairs and improvements, for the rest the relations are those of a friendly visitor, who, while advising, has the power to dictate and to enforce conditions under which continued tenancy will be permitted. Stamp savings are collected, doctors and nurses are procured, work is found, and sometimes money is loaned to tide over the tight places which may lead to the Abyss. Whenever practicable, pleasures are turned in the tenants' way, picnics are given in small groups, or summer rest procured and yet they are in no way almoners, rarely turning to the Association for help.

The payment of rent is a debt, to be met as any other debt, and one soon realizes the justice of but little leniency if the property stands as an investment; and it is as a business enterprise that growth is most probable and most healthy. To effect this either the rents must be scheduled low and collected, or scheduled high and losses permitted. This latter means that the paying tenants must give a little more than their share in order to meet the amounts due from bad debt cases, which is manifestly unjust.

In acting as agent for private owners, certain standards of comfort are required before the Association accepts a property, but no elaborate comforts nor conveniences are added which would necessitate an increase in the rental value.

A small group of houses recently handed to the Association to manage shows how owners may lose their rents through a neighbor's nuisance, over which they have no control. In one house of the block which has been usually vacant during six years, it is found that the yard is shared in common with a much larger house on the main street. Of this latter the cellar wall

has caved in and the cellar is the receptacle for all kinds of refuse coming from no one knows where. On opening the back door of the little house one seems to be on the edge of a cavern! In the small house is neither water nor toilet accommodation. They are in a detached yard two houses away. With these points in mind it is not strange that the house is unlet, yet it is a good house in a good neighborhood. The Association is trying to find the owner of the larger house, which has been untenanted for years and obtain the agency for it, and so be neighbor to itself. Possibly the house is part of an estate and it has an absentee landlord, who either does not need his money or does not sense the situation.

The Association's properties are continually inspected and small repairs made, in order to avoid large expenditures from time to time. The returns from the Association's own properties have not been large because they are in the section of the city where ground is high, but where reform is needed. This is however not the case with the agency properties. They are scattered in many directions and house many nationalities, Russians, Poles, Negroes, Italians and that mixed population which calls itself American. The returns from these vary from 3 to 8 per cent, as stated above. The owners often take personal interest in their properties, authorizing or withholding their consent to larger repairs and improvements.

THOROUGH SUPERVISION.

The charges of the Association for supervision are from $7\frac{1}{2}$ to 10 per cent; it is the same work which is done by most agents for 5 per cent, but the Association is convinced that the greater thoroughness of its work justifies the increased renumeration and that the owner is eventually better paid than with the smaller charge which means less supervision.

Much of the property in the older sections of our cities have come through inheritance to their present owners, who are often annoyed and ashamed of the asset, and know noth-

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ing of the properties. Absentee landlordism is hardly worse in Ireland than in the older, more debased sections of our cities.

The working force of the Association is two collectors and a clerk supplemented by volunteer visitors, but the strength of it lies in the work given by the members of the board and their knowledge of the needs of the poor.

This article is offered with the thought of the many inquiries from individual philanthropists, from societies for social betterment, from mill owners and others as to what can be done to improve living conditions.

The work of the Octavia Hill Association is small as yet, but it has the possibility of unlimited growth with-

out increase of capital, through its agency work, which indeed, is looked upon as its chief work, the stock company being formed chiefly as a nucleus from other branches.

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Further information may be obtained from the Secretary of the Association, Mrs. E. B. Kirkbride, 1506 Spruce street, or from the writer of this article, at Foxburg, Penn.

From Social Settlement Centers

A new edition of the "Bibliography of Settlements" is being prepared. Names and addresses of new settlements, new material of old, and suggestions for the improvement of the next edition over the old will be gratefully received by the editor, Mrs. Frank Hugh Montgomery, 5548 Woodland avenue, Chicago, Ill.

Kingsley House, Pittsburg

As at most settlements, the work at Kingsley House has given way to country outing work through the summer. The house at Valencia with its nearby fields and woods have echoed and re-echoed with the romps of the crowds of children who have been taken there on two weeks outing trips. The accommodations at the Home were very much enlarged this year and this permitted of a large increase in the number of persons to receive the advantage of a vacation in it.

No less than 2102 were entertained during the summer. Of these 706 spent two weeks each, 269 one week each, 25 came for over Sunday, and 1102 for one day each. The total number for the summer of 1903 was only 1148. Many of the vacationers were not residents of the immediate locality in which Kingsley House is located. By invitation the privileges of the Home were extended to persons connected with many of the churches and other institutions of Pittsburg.

Mothers, the bread winners of their families, have been returned to their daily toil with new strength and courage. To them the two weeks of rest meant much. Of all results, however, that most precious is the strength of new friendships formed in the close companionship of daily living together,

friendships that shall make the life of the coming winter and the future years larger and sweeter.

Chicago Commons

"Camp reunion" has now become an annual celebration at Chicago Commons and a gala time it is for all the boys and girls whose summer included two weeks of holiday at Camp Commons on the Fox River near Elgin, Illinois. That "golden age" is lived over again with happy memories of all the joyousness that was packed into fourteen red-letter days. And from the shouts of all together you would think it was a contest in which each set tried to prove the superior joys of its own two weeks. On Saturday night, October 22, this year's reunion was held. The songs and popular choruses that used to make the very trees rock around the camp fire were all sung over again, Willie did his jigs and shuffles as long as the pianist could recall from his repertoire tunes of the exact sort our proficient young "artiste" required to show his envied skill—a performance which was greeted with most tumultuous expressions of enthusiastic approval. The "pieces" of wonderful rhyme and rhythm, with most tragic import or hilarious comedy, again were spoken and accompanied with impressive dramatic embellishments, and re-

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1864



1824



1904

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ceived with the same rapt attention or whoops of laughter that met their recital when all that kept at bay the encroachments of the "terrible dark" encircling the white tents, or combated its awful stillness and mysterious noises, was the camp bonfire with its shafts of light and its reassuring crackling.

Then the stereopticon helped them to live over the events which required no conjuring to bring to mind. "There's me" cried Mamie as she saw herself seated at the table ready to enjoy a long drink of milk such as never was found in the city. "Aw, look at Fillette," came in unison from a group of boys who suddenly beheld a slim youth in swimming trunks about to dive into the midst of the splashing crowd in the swimming pool. The picture of an exciting base ball game brought the cheers of victory from one side and yells of awakened defiance from the other, while both looked forward to the time when they might again struggle for the honors of victory. But all joined together in one overwhelming, ear-splitting "Camp Commons Yell," when the last of the pictures was shown and the 1904 reunion became a part of history. The clubs and other winter organizations are now running in full blast and with prospects of marking the highwater success of all the years the settlement has been a part of the neighborhood life.

The trustees held a meeting on the same night as the camp reunion and after getting through with their discussions of some of the various problems that now confront the settlement, enjoyed a glimpse of the "camp reunion" almost as much as the boys and girls did the whole affair. The board this year is composed of Miss Jane Addams, Mrs. Otto Matz, Miss Susan Wood, David Fales, Frank H. McCullagh, Edwin Burritt Smith, Alexander B. Scully, J. H. George, Edward L. Ryerson, F. F. Peabody and Graham Taylor. Miss Wood is a newly elected member.

The settlement is now in the midst of a political campaign of great importance. The significance of the situation and a detailed account of it are to be found on page 557 of this number.

Hiram House, Cleveland

We have hardly begun to realize the possibilities enveloped in our new philanthropy, The Summer Camp. For many years we have been working to get the children out to the country because it brought them into closer contact with God and Nature; because it was a stimulus for the best development of health and character; because it was a prevention many times of disease and long protracted sickness. No one questions that these are great and beneficial results and that these results would be full recompense for the effort expended; but as the work enlarges it is developing into more than a health preserver, into a true and lasting character builder, and into a real acquaintanceship with God and Nature.

One of the advantages of the work is that the children are in more continuous personal relations with residents than is possible in the city.

With the right kind of a director for the Summer Camp there ought to be considerable progress made in giving the children an understanding of the right of property, and the necessity for individual work by each one in the camp. We had some very unusual experiences this summer showing that with the proper person in charge some of the fundamental principles of life could be established in the minds of the children which possibly could not be instilled under other conditions. It is one of the rules of the Camp that everybody shall do his part of the work. The boys and girls all share in making the work light and in making it possible for all to have time off for enjoyment. Some of the boys felt that they were working too long (although not more than two hours a day was asked from anyone) and a spirit gradually developed among them to resist. For two or three days the whole gang of boys were on a strike. If it had not been for the exceedingly tactful leadership of Mr. Frank Van Cleef a great opportunity for teaching the boys the necessity of work would have been lost. But by his strong

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personality and influence over the boys he finally won the leader of the gang and then all the other boys to his position. From that time on there was no strike and no desire on the part of the worst in the company not to work. It was a great victory for every boy and was an experience that will assist him in all future decisions.

It seems to be a natural thing for the children when they go out to Camp to have no regard for the right of the farmer, no idea of property rights. All that grows, all that can be found in the field they think belongs to anyone who happens to find it. But this is not so different from the conviction of the adults who have lived in the city. Hunters trespass upon property, pillage and destroy without any apparent idea that the farmer has his rights, and when asked to leave private property they become insolent and abusive. It is not always a desire to be malicious but a failure to appreciate the rights of others. Last summer a company of girls found a duck's nest and robbed the nest of the eggs. It took a long discussion to make the children understand that the eggs were not theirs but belonged to another, and only the other day when one of the young girls who found the eggs was discussing the situation at Hiram House she said, "I can't feel yet but that those eggs were mine." One of the residents asked the young lady if she would feel at liberty to go into a neighboring grocery store and take eggs. "Why of course not," she replied, "that would be stealing." This illustration seemed to make clear to her mind the rights of the farmer. It has been a constant effort with those in charge to teach the children the difference between wild berries and cultivated berries; to show that the apples growing upon the trees belong to the man who cares for them, who planted the trees and protects them from destruction. If the children can be taught some of the rights of property at the time when they are susceptible to the inculcation of principles of justice, it may greatly help toward solving some of the problems of their work in the future.

Another good result from the Camp work is the development of a love for the country. How many of our grown-up neighbors prefer the city to the country! They feel, as has been said, "Peoples is more company than stumps." It is impossible for the adults, considering their environments and their past, to want to move into the country, but we believe it is possible to overcome this prejudice against the country by early instilling in the minds of the children a love for Nature. And we are led to believe that these same children who have been going to the various fresh air camps all over the country will select different homes than those found in the congested portions of our cities.

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**Dinner to Professor Conrad by the
Association of Neighborhood
Workers, New York City**

The New York Association of Neighborhood Workers gave a dinner to Professor J. Conrad of Halle, on Thursday evening, October 6th, at Clinton Hall. Gaylord S. White, President of the Association and Headworker of Union Settlement, presided and several of Professor Conrad's old pupils were among those who at this time extended a very warm welcome to him. Professor Conrad stands in the forefront as the instructor of more American professors of economy than any other European economist.

The first address of the evening was made by Professor Edwin R. A. Seligman of Columbia University, who spoke of the relation of the university to the settlement. Professor Seligman said that to-day the relationship between the universities and the people is growing ever closer; he noted the contrast between the present condition and the situation of two centuries ago.

Mrs. Florence Kelley was the next speaker and she emphasized the fact that it is the problem of congestion with which the social workers have to deal. Mrs. Kelley was followed by Dr. Jane Robbins, formerly head-worker of the College Settlement and the Alumnae House. Edward T. Devine, Secretary of the Charity Organization Society, spoke of Dr. Conrad as the personal friend of the students with whom he comes in contact. District Attorney Jerome was the last of the preliminary speakers. He said, among other things, that there was a time when he thought that settlement work was like sprinkling rose water on the Bowery but now his ideas have changed.

Professor Conrad was very enthusiastically received in response to his introduction and after a few words of greeting spoken in English, he delivered his address in German. He spoke of the progress made by this country along lines of social welfare since his visit of eight years ago and said that he was particularly impressed with the fact that so many women are engaged in social work here. He contrasted the social and industrial conditions in Germany and America

and made special reference to the social-democratic party in Germany. Prof. Conrad showed his deep sympathy with the settlement movement, the beginnings of which are just becoming evident in Germany.

Book Review

The American City: A Problem in Democracy

By Delos F. Wilcox, Ph. D. 423 pp. \$1.25 net. The Citizen's Library, The MacMillan Company, New York.

Dr. Wilcox gives us in this book a broad minded and comprehensive view of the present status of the problem of the American city. His disposition to look at all the facts and not at merely a portion which bolster up some pet theory is an attitude of mind that many municipal reformers would do well to cultivate. It is the first essential for genuinely practical work toward the solution of the problem both in its national aspects and in its local urgency. But while Dr. Wilcox rides no hobby and takes into account the wide range of effort for progress in our municipal sphere, he shows further his practical turn of mind by bearing down hard in the last chapter upon certain "fundamental planks in the program of civic reform" which are in the nature of "next steps" and which he has happily formulated in a way to fit local conditions in no one city but in all. He significantly points out that, while abroad the problem of the city is one mainly of business policy, in this country it means that democracy is on trial. This truth he forces home with an insistence that ought to bring to a realizing sense of his duty in the matter every citizen who is capable of feeling that he has himself no small share of responsibility. To the rising generation the book should prove of inestimable educational value, for it has that highest of educative qualities — the power to make one think, and strive to put his best thoughts into action. How Dr. Wilcox bends his own energies toward carrying out his own principles may be gathered from his interesting article on another page describing the issues of a local situation.

Books Received

Principles of Economics. With Applications to Practical Problems

By Frank A. Fetter, Ph. D.
The Century Company, New York.

The Principles of Relief

By Edward T. Devine, Ph. D.
The MacMillan Company, New York.

The Commons for Feb., 1904

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The third article is Dr. Raub's Medicated Cutaneous Soap. This soap is the production of a dermatologist who devoted the greater part of thirty years to its perfection. Though comparatively this is a twenty-five cent soap, our efficient manufacturing system enables us to produce it at a figure permitting it to be retailed at ten cents. When, as is our intention, this soap is brought to the attention of the women of the country through the high

class periodicals, we believe it will be a success of the same kind as Miller's Soap and Powerine.

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